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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the new Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

45,



Issam Sartawi 1933-1983

Dr Issam Sartawi, member of the Palestinian National Council and a senior political advisor to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, was shot dead in his hotel while attending the Socialist International Conference in Portugal, April 10. In a communique from Damascus, renegade Palestinian Salah Banna (Abu Nidal) claimed responsibility.

According to his secretary, Anwar Abu Eiseh, Sartawi was hit by three assassins. The first entered the lobby of Manshero Hotel in the coastal resort of Albufeira as Sartawi was leaving an SI session and fired five bullets at Sartawi. Two bullets hit him in the head.

A second gunman shot Abu Eiseh in his legs and chest. The third man facilitated the others' get-away.

Eyewitnesses told news agencies that a tall dark person wearing a brown shirt was seen near the hotel reception around 9:15. They said he approached Sartawi calmly as he was talking to other delegates. The gunman, whose age was put at about 30, used a 9mm calibre automatic pistol with a silencer. In the

confusion immediately after the killing, the gunman managed to escape and joined a man in a waiting car. Sartawi died immediately.

Portuguese TV reported that local police were holding a foreigner with a forged Moroccan passport and Emilio Carrera, a Colombian journalist, on suspicion of involvement in the assassination. Carrera was released April 11. The 'Moroccan' was later named as al-Awad Yusef, 26. The Moroccan Embassy in Portugal later announced he was not a citizen. Yusef was found in possession of US \$2,240, FF800 and some Iraqi money.

In Damascus, Abu Nidal issued a statement shortly after the killing claiming responsibility. Abu Nidal called Sartawi a "traitor" and an "agent of imperialism... and American, Zionist and British intelligence."

Sartawi was singularly well-known for his good contacts with western European circles, in addition to Israeli non-official political activists including former MK Uri Avneri and reserve general Matityahu Peled. During

the last two PNC sessions he pressed for a resolution to approve mutual recognition with Israel. Among Palestinians, Sartawi's views fell in the minority and, although expressed during the PNC session, were soundly defeated. He had also been active in the POW exchange efforts through the offices of Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and is also remembered for his role in Euro-Arab dialogue meetings and for contacts with the US peace camp.

World Reaction

Secretaries of political parties and organisations in many countries of the world and many prominent figures in western governments condemned the murder and expressed sadness at the death of "the supporter of negotiations" with Israel.

Lionel Joizian, secretary of the French Socialist Party, said Sartawi was "the victim of his belief in negotiations over the painful problems of the Middle East." Shimon Peres, secretary of the Israeli Labour Party, said that the bullet which killed Sar-

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Military Authorities Seal Dhahriyeh Houses

Israeli military authorities sealed five houses in Dhahriyeh, April 12, belonging to families whose sons are awaiting trial for stone-throwing. The five families had received an order nisi two days earlier from the Israeli High Court barring demolition of their homes. Sealing, which has left over 40 people homeless, was not explicitly mentioned in the High Court appeal and was carried out through this legal loophole.

The families and their lawyer, Ibrahim Abu Ata, are concerned about the fate of the five accused. A special military committee has been established to try them. The bench will consist of the chairman of the military courts in the West Bank, the Nablus district chief judge and a Tel Aviv judge. Under Israeli military regulations a bench of three lawyers is necessary to sentence an accused to death. The Israelis have pressed for a quick trial, Abu Ata said, and the first session is scheduled for

April 21.

The five young men are officially charged with forming a local cell of a Palestinian organisation and violating 'security and public order' by stoning a military vehicle which resulted in the death of a young Israeli woman. The charge sheet also alleges that the five blocked the main Hebron-Beer Sheva road which cuts through Dhahriyeh, a village of 15,000 predominantly inhabited by Palestinian refugees.

Abu Ata told *Al Fajr* he is pessimistic about the fate of his clients.

The accused, Mohammad Badawi, 20, Atef Mahmoud Waradat, 17, Hayel Mohammad Abu Alan, 21, Subhi Ali Waradat, 17, and Hassan Mohammad Makharzeh, 19, were arrested February 19. Dhahriyeh was under curfew for a month after the stoning incident during which hundreds were detained.

Saboteurs Smash Cars in Hebron

Saboteurs smashed the windscreens of more than 150 cars in Hebron, April 11. Most of the damaged vehicles were parked in the five or six-kilometre long Namra Street, east Hebron. Eyewitnesses assessing the damage later told *Al Fajr* that 70 cars in Namra were vandalised and others were found in the Masharqa and Sheikh quarters and Ras Jora. The owners of the smashed cars believe Kiyat Arba settlers hit their property as a kind of collective punishment against Hebronites.

Yacoub Hanin, owner of the Khalil Rahman Butcher Shop, told *Al Fajr*, "I parked my car in front of my house in Habayel Riah, in Sheikh quarter, at 8:30 pm. The next morning at 6:30 am I discovered the front windscreen had been smashed." In Sheikh quarter about 40 vehicles were affected, according to local estimates.

Hanini said that although he didn't hear the vandals, he believes they used iron rods. "We found signs of rust on the car owned by the Falah family, which was covered with a white cloth," he asserts. Hanini said the sabotage was "well organised by a group intending to terrorise our people."

Lawyer Sari Maswadeh said

that he had heard sounds of smashing glass at around midnight and went to see what was happening. When he got to his car the front and back windshields had been shattered.

Other Hebronites told *Al Fajr* that they had heard noises but had not gone to investigate. "I was afraid the vandals might have had guns," said one. Most were adamant that their attackers were Kiyat Arba settlers.

The police reportedly told those who reported their suspicions that they "will check this possibility."

At 8:00 am more than 70 owners of damaged cars drove their vehicles to local military headquarters to file complaints. Each was questioned separately and had his car examined. There were no checks for fingerprints, complainants noted.

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Reagan Initiative Collapses

The Reagan initiative finally died, April 10, when following a three-hour cabinet session the Jordanian government announced that it will not enter negotiations for a political settlement. The decision came after the PLO executive committee had refused to back a plan to give King Hussein the go-ahead to talk to the US on the Palestinian behalf. Immediate local speculation said Jordan's decision was an attempt to pressure the PLO to accept the Reagan initiative.

The long-awaited announcement came in a statement broadcast by Jordanian Radio and TV. It said the government was no longer "seeking to enter future talks, in any form." They announced they would respect the 1974 Rabat summit resolutions which delegated the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians. The Jordanians said the Palestinians should now pursue their aims and goals on their own. This announcement, if Jordan adheres to it, means an end to the September 1 Reagan initiative which called on Jordan to act for the Palestinians in talks towards a Jordan-West Bank-Israeli federation. If the five-month dialogue between the PLO and Jordan is to continue, observers say, it will not be towards that type of settlement.

After the latest round of talks between PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and the Jordanian king between April 1 and 4, Arafat left Amman to tour Arab states after he and the monarch failed to agree on a final communique. The PLO executive committee met in Kuwait, April 5. Although he was expected to return to Amman, no new plans have been announced following the Jordanian statement.

In the few days leading up to Jordan's clear statement, several leading members of the PLO had reiterated the organisation's position on negotiations.

Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad) told reporters, April 8, that the PLO is the sole representative of the Palestinian people and "we will not authorise anybody to represent us in any negotiations." Abu Jihad stated that any discussion for a political solution in the region has to be based on the Fez summit accords. Abu Jihad also rejected the American president's initiative "because it aims to split the Arab political stance." The American administration constantly declares its opposition to the establishment of the Palestinian state.

Nayef Hawatmeh, the secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), told *Agence France Presse* reporters in Kuwait that Yasir Arafat will not return to Jordan to continue negotiations to try and adopt a common position on the Reagan initiative.

Speaking to the Monte Carlo Radio programme *It Happened Tomorrow*, George Habash, the General Secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) said, April 8, that the PLO adheres to the Palestine National Council resolutions. "We do not accept Ronald Reagan's initiative as the basis for negotiations. We refuse also to delegate Jordan to speak for the Palestinians or allow that some Palestinians who are not members in the PLO (should play a role) in a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation."

Habash said this is why no Palestinian-Jordanian statement was released. Habash warned the Arab countries not to exploit the imminent Arab summit to offer more compromises by connecting Fez resolutions to the Reagan initiative. Habash demanded the PLO make the Arab leaders adopt the resolutions of the Palestine National Council. "These resolutions are the test for Arab countries who claim to support the Palestinian cause."

US Stymied

In a first official reaction from the US, Secretary of State George Shultz told CBS TV April 10 that the PLO's insistence on participating in negotiations on an official level, and the creation of a Palestinian state, were "unacceptable to Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the US, and Israel." This, he said, made Jordan take its step. Shultz expressed strong conviction that Hussein is still committed to the Reagan initiative.

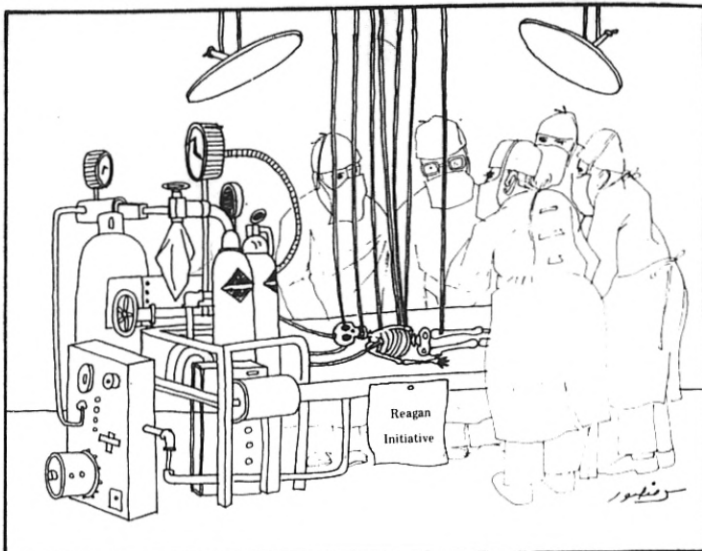
US President Ronald Reagan accused "PLO radicals" of obstructing the delegation of Jordan to talk on behalf of the Palestinians. Reagan also expressed strong conviction that the Jordanian king's decision was "not final." He told reporters that he is determined to pursue his initiative.

Reactions

Jordan's sudden announcement of the breakdown of the talks caused a political storm in the Arab political arena. An immediate halt was called to Moroccan efforts to convene an Arab summit in Fez to exert pressure on the PLO to delegate King Hussein.

Egypt expressed disappointment at the breakdown of talks, and urged for "reconsideration of position."

Israeli officials took the opportunity to hammer the US administration policy in the area. "Reagan's initiative is not alive," Israeli's Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir told reporters, April 11.



PLO STATEMENT

Reagan Plan, Another Face of Camp David

A PLO official announced the following:

"In light of the recent political development and the decisions taken by the Palestinian leadership in their latest meetings in Amman and Kuwait, we would like to clarify the following points:

1. "The PLO positions have always stemmed from adherence to PNC resolutions, especially (those of) the last session in Algiers and the Fez summit resolutions unanimously adopted by all the Arabs as the basis for their political action on the international level.

2. "The PLO has always affirmed that it refused to consider US President Reagan's plan as a suitable basis for a just and lasting peace for the Palestinian cause and for the Arab-Zionist conflict. It considers the plan in essence and intent as falling short of fulfilling the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and calls on the Arabs to make basic concessions on these rights, without securing the minimum guarantees to restore the Arab and Palestinian occupied land or enabling our people to achieve their right of self-determination on national soil. The PLO expressed its position frankly to its Arab brothers, especially the brothers in Jordan during negotiations in the past months.

3. "The Palestinian revolu-

tion, in adhering to the full and independent representation through the PLO, affirms dealing with the Palestinian cause as a national issue for a people who have the full right to liberation, independence and sovereignty on national soil. Any alienation or belittling of this representation transforms the Palestinian cause and the fate of the occupied land into a border problem and (whose solution would be a) regional compromise, leading to the liquidation of the Palestinian people's rights. On this basis, the Palestinian position has always placed the issue of saving Palestinian land at the top of the list of priorities as the central aim of the Palestinian national struggle.

4. Through the last PNC resolutions, the PLO affirmed the special relationship with Jordan on the basis of vital and joint interests between the two brotherly peoples. The PLO has never looked at future relations from a tactical point of view and as a bridge to the Reagan plan but it considered confederal relations as a strategic aim which organises and consolidates the ties between the two peoples on a firm basis after the establishment of the independent Palestinian state. The PLO sees that the Fez summit resolutions provide the means for political action through the UN Security Council while the Reagan plan is another face of the Camp David accords which were rejected by all the Arabs at the Baghdad summit as

a partial and unilateral settlement which contradicts Arab interests and comprehensive national rights.

5. The PLO has affirmed that any political action for the cause of Palestine must stem from, and be guaranteed and safeguarded by, Arab summit resolutions within an Arab framework in order to mobilise all Arab efforts and capabilities. Such an Arab framework can develop the international position in the interest of our patriotic and national rights.

6. During the negotiations conducted by the PLO delegations in Amman, it was clear that there was a joint understanding of the lack of seriousness and honesty of the American position, especially as indicated by what is going on in Lebanon and by the criminal Zionist practices in the occupied territories which are supported by the US administration.

While stating these facts, which were already recorded in the documents presented during the negotiations with our brothers in Jordan, the PLO affirms the importance of continuing dialogue and relations in the interest of our joint national aims in facing the Zionist enemy's plans in the occupied territories, and the enemy's threat to the security and sovereignty of brotherly Jordan and other Arab countries."

ABDEL HAFIR ABD DARWISH HAMAD, lost his Brazilian Passport No. 28794827 in Ramallah district, the West Bank.

If anyone finds it, send it to the police station, or call No. 95/2640. Thank You.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 154 April 15, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censor	28
Number of articles totally censored out	05
Number of articles not returned before printing	01
Number of articles partially censored but used	06
Number of articles passed	16

Statement of the Jordanian Physicians Union

The following statement was released by the Jordanian Physicians Union in the West Bank, this week, on the mysterious poisonings which have plagued the area for the past three weeks. It was condemned by the Israeli 'civil administration' as 'political'. Reports from international organisations are pending.

Statement of the Jordanian Physicians Union Jerusalem branch

What happened over the last few days in various areas of the occupied West Bank is a dangerous phenomenon in its aim, implementations and results. After studying the subject we see it our duty to inform people of the results of our findings:

1. The cases of collective poisoning are the result of inhaling unknown gases that often stem from solid substances or liquid gas. There is much proof of this:
 - a all the people who experienced either severe or slightly more moderate symptoms spoke of smelling a strange odor;
 - b the poisoning affected children and youths of both sexes and women and men. The symptoms included headache, nausea, stomach pains, dilation of the pupils, blurred vision, coldness of the extremities, low blood pressure, difficulties in breathing and weakness in the muscles;
 - c all those affected, except the most severe cases, have improved since their removal from the area.
2. Most cases were either moderate or minor in terms of their effects for a number of reasons:
 - a participation of the population of the affected areas in removing the sick to hospitals immediately.
 - b the fact that the female students fled the area as soon as they detected the smell of the substance;
 - c the panic among the students resulted in the cases being a mixture of those affected by the poison and those who reacted in a nervous panic. We estimate that this panic is as dangerous as the poisoning if not the most important result as far as the aim of these criminal acts (is concerned).
3. The occupation authorities, in particular the military, failed to deal with the situation; this is evident from official statements to the media.
 - a They did not attempt to limit the poisoning incidents or find the perpetrators. Instead the poisoning spread from Jenin to Tulkarm and Hebron;
 - b The authorities by-passed all the facts and accused all the individuals taken ill with either mass hysteria or faking their symptoms;
 - c Occupation soldiers participated in spreading panic among the population when they sprayed the girls with strange smelling liquids, and threw gas grenades at houses in the camps. This was at a time of great stress when many victims were being taken to hospital;
 - d Such practices indicate that either the authorities participated in preparing these criminal incidents or approved the results.
4. The female students constituted the majority of victims in all the areas, leading to the rumour of sterilisation being a side effect of the substance. We would like to tell the population that it is a very minor possibility necessitating further investigation in order to refute it totally
5. The inhabitants behaved very honourably when they immediately took those affected to hospital and offered clothes and medicine. This is a clear indication of their sense of responsibility and readiness to sacrifice for the common good.

Our heroic Palestinian people stood fast and remain so in the face of all the oppressive measures taken against them over the past decades. The collective poisoning is merely the latest form of Deir Yassin, Kufr Qassim and Sabra and Shatila. These hateful practices will only increase our steadfastness and determination to continue the struggle to achieve our national aims, the first being the right to self-determination.

Jerusalem, April 8, 1983



PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme on April 12 as Arafat began a visit to Sweden as guest of the ruling Social Democratic Party

Military Orders Schools to Remain Shut

The Israeli military liaison officer in charge of education ordered all government schools on the West Bank to prolong the present vacations until April 19. He also announced that schools where students were poisoned were closed until further notice.

The order was issued on April 12, one day before pupils were due back in class. The start of the next semester has already been delayed four times in the

past three weeks by the military.

A source in the education department in Tulkarm expressed great concern at the lengthening list of lost school days this scholastic year. "The disruption will especially affect those who are taking *tawjihi* (secondary school matriculation certificate)," he said.

The director of the education department in Bethlehem and Jericho told *Al Fajr* that he

will be discussing the issue of closed schools in the Bethlehem area with the 'concerned authorities' soon. Three schools in his area are shut: Beit Sahour's Secondary Schools for Boys and Girls and the Bethlehem Boys' Secondary School. They were shut by military order after the demonstrations which swept the West Bank during the visit of ex-US President Jimmy Carter to the area, March 7.

OLD CITY ASSAULT VICTIM REMAINS IN GRAVE CONDITION

Fatmeh Abu Mayaleh, 65, the Palestinian woman who was beaten up by religious settlers in the Old City, last week, has regained consciousness but is still unable to speak about her experiences.

She is suffering a fractured skull, concussion and multiple cuts and bruises. Makassed Hospital doctors treating her are still concerned about her condition.

Meanwhile, her husband Ibrahim Abu Salameh and neighbour Mahmoud Abdullah Abu Snehne complained to the au-

thorities, April 10, that they have been unable to enter their homes since the incident because of further threats from the settlers. Five other families living in the vicinity of the yeshiva, in the same complex as the Palestinian homes, have moved out after threats from the settlers. Ibrahim now lives in Hebron.

Teddy Kollek, head of the Israeli Jerusalem administration, reportedly told families to stay away from their houses until the problem is settled. "Either the settlers must evacuate the school or the Arab residents evacuate

it," Kollek is reported to have told a meeting of residents.

Earlier in the week, Kollek met with Israel's two chief rabbis to discuss the problem of violence. They expressed their concern and Kollek issued a call to Palestinians not to throw stones at Israelis.

Police arrested nine of the settlers from the Old City yeshiva after they stoned a foreign news team. They were released a few days later. No information has been released about any investigation into the attack on Fatmeh.

MILITARY INSTRUCTS HOSPITALS NOT TO ACCEPT PATIENTS

POISON VICTIMS STILL SUFFER

Dr Fadal Hijazi, deputy director of Alia Hospital in Hebron, told *Al Fajr* April 12, that many . . . from the Hebron area, are being treated at their homes, or in private clinics after military authorities prohibited the treatment of such cases in government hospitals. He said that he himself has treated four people who have shown the same symptoms as those in other parts of the West Bank, last week. The four victims were from the village of Surif, north of Hebron.

Early last week, 10 school girls and teachers were arrested and accused of 'staging and organising the poisoning cases in

various parts of the West Bank." *The Jerusalem Post* reported that the military authorities have obtained signed statements from the detainees indicating that they pretended to be ill. The paper did not say whether the girls gave the statements willingly or not.

Meanwhile, six students from the Islamic University in Gaza, who were arrested at Jenin Hospital, were remanded April 13 for 30 days. The students were visiting patients in Jenin Hospital when they were detained. The Gaza students, who are being questioned on charges of 'incitement,' were found in possession of the Gaza religious

magazine *Al Nida*.

The Israeli authorities have maintained that the poisoning cases were deliberately staged. However, the Jordanian Medical Association published its findings in a statement, April 8, which said there are clear symptoms of poisoning which cannot be ignored, in many patients. (see left)

In reaction to the Palestinian physicians' statement, a high-ranking official of the Israeli 'civil administration' was quoted by the Israeli government Arabic-language daily *Al Anba* as saying that the statement was political and "aimed at creating trouble."

WZO Massive Settlement Plan

The World Zionist Organization revealed April 9 its plan to settle 1.3 million Israelis in the occupied West Bank and equal the Palestinian population by the year 2013.

Details of the long-term plan, published in *The Jerusalem Post* April 10, call for the immediate construction of 57 new settlements, expansion of existing settlements to city-size and creation of extensive industrial and recreational facilities. Development to promote rapid Israeli settlement in the occupied territory is to be supplemented by restrictions on housing construction around Israel's urban centers.

The WZO plan is to be presented soon to the Israeli cabinet for official approval in order to release funds for its implementation. It was masterminded by Matityahu Drobles, head of the WZO's settlement department and known for this concept of settlement blocs. The plan provides for the construction of 6000 housing units annually, concentrated in two settlement cities (Kiryat Arba near Hebron and Ariel near Nablus) and three Jerusalem suburbs and is expected to house between 10,000 to 30,000 families each. The WZO also calls for the creation of 36 smaller urban settlements of up to 3000 families, 65 small settlements of 400 families each and 59 moshavim and kibbutzim settlements.

According to *The Jerusalem Post*, the largest population centers are to be erected east of Tel Aviv, and east of Jerusalem. Forty percent of the financing is expected to come from private investors. The Jenin and Hebron

districts, less attractive to settlers and investors because of the long commute to jobs in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, will receive more government subsidy. The plan's top priority is development which will encapsulate East Jerusalem, in three directions (north, south, and east) and inside the city itself. The northwestern corner of the West Bank, a strip along the north-south highway, and the southern Hebron hills are also areas of special concern.

The comprehensive plan also suggests the construction of 400 kilometres of roads to interconnect the various settlements. It also includes the establishment of forestry, tourist facilities and grazing areas, on 20,000 dunums of land which have already been set aside for these purposes. Up to 500 dunums of land were proposed to be used for Israeli industrial development every year.

In order to acquire land for the projects, the WZO suggested the continued acquisition of privately owned Arab land and "state land." Palestinian land experts expect a new push of land confiscation soon.

The WZO plan, which was drawn up jointly by the WZO settlement department and the Israeli agriculture ministry, is said to have taken into account the requirements of the Arab population. Curiously, the plan regarding the Arab population was not released to the press. One land expert questioned whether it existed at all.

An incentive program of interest-free government loans for newlyweds, government subsidies, and cheap land for construction for investors will continue.

Hassan Bek



Controversy Deepens

The controversy over the collapse of the Hassan Bek minaret continued this week after an Arab engineers committee reported unofficially that it had been blown up.

Fakhri J'dai, of the Jaffa Arab Committee, told *Al Fajr* the five-engineer board had assured locals a bomb caused the damage but refused to issue a written report to that effect.

Abed Kaboub, head of the Jaffa Islamic Trustees Committee, denied that any report had been made. Speaking to *Al Fajr*, he said, "No reason has been given. We are not interested in the findings."

Israelis say the minaret collapsed, April 2, due to neglect.

Commenting on latest developments, Abed Kaboub said his committee expects to meet with representatives of the ministry of religious affairs, next Wednesday, to receive a permit to start reconstruction work. He informed *Al Fajr* that the Tel Aviv municipality had been "taken out of the picture" and that from now on the Islamic

Trustees will deal solely with ministry officials.

Nabil Sayf, a guard at the mosque, was arrested and held for several hours, April 11, after local Muslims removed signs put up by the Israeli authorities forbidding access to the shrine.

The incident occurred after Jaffa Muslims entered Hassan Bek to continue their sit-in strike.

Eitan Lashes Out With Racist Statements

Outgoing Israeli Chief-of-Staff Raphael Eitan's final appearance April 12 before the Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee ended in uproar as he made a series of racist remarks and traded insults with liberal Labour MK Yossi Sarid.

Eitan, who is retiring from his post later this month, told committee members in a closed session that the answer to stone throwing "should be 10 new Jewish settlements for every such incident." "When we have settled the land all the Arabs will be able to do is scuttle around like

as they have done since the destruction of its minaret. They started removing signs which stated: "It is forbidden to enter any part of the mosque" as soon as they discovered them but were immediately interrupted by police patrols. At this point Nabil Sayf started arguing with police officers and was detained.

In light of recent developments, Jaffa Islamic Trustees Committee postponed a press conference it had planned for next week. They had planned to inform reporters of reconstruction schemes and the development of Hassan Bek, one of the most beautiful historic shrines in the country. Meanwhile, Nisim Dana, who is responsible for minority affairs at Israel's ministry of religion, said, April 11, "We welcome any assistance from Israeli citizens and from any country. We are not ready to receive any assistance from hostile sources such as Jordan or the PLO."

Earlier the ministry had announced it was allotting IS40 million for repairs of Hassan Bek. However, no building license has been issued.

doped cockroaches in a bottle." He also was quoted as saying, "When there are 100 settlements between Nablus and Jerusalem there will be no stones thrown."

Likud MKs Yigael Hurvitz and Beni Shalit suggested, "Perhaps after an incident or two in which shots are fired, they will rethink their actions." *The Jerusalem Post* suggested they were referring to shooting at demonstrators' legs. *Haaretz*, however, reported that they said if shooting at legs didn't stop stone throwing, soldiers should be instructed to aim higher.

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Sartawi

tawi, killed the spirit of moderation. Most delegations at the Socialist International expressed their sorrow at the assassination. In a session following the killing, a statement prepared by Sartawi for the conference was read out.

The PLO executive committee, the central committee, and PLO official spokesman Mahmoud Labadi denounced the assassination in a Tunis statement. The release accused "collaborators working for Israeli intelligence" of responsibility. Ahmad Abd al-Rahman, a member of the editorial board of *Falastin al-Thawra*, demanded that the Portuguese authorities find the killers and put them on trial.

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat spoke to *Agence France Presse* from North Yemen, commenting on Sartawi's courage in defending Palestinian rights.

Local Reactions

Bassam Shaka'a, the dismissed mayor of Nablus, condemned the assassination and said it was "contrary to the unity and aspirations of the Palestinian people."

Life of a Palestinian Diplomat

Issam Sartawi was born in Sarta, the Qalqilya district, in 1933. He was 15 when his family fled Palestine during the 1948 war for refuge in Baghdad. Issam studied medicine in Iraq and graduated in 1958. He then went to the US to specialize in cardiac surgery at Ohio University. In 1967, Sartawi formed an organization called the "Working Association for the Liberation of Palestine" and in 1971, after the ninth session of the Palestine National Council, Sartawi and his organization joined Fatah.

In 1970, Sartawi was one of the six leaders in the PLO War Council which included Yasir Arafat and George Habash.

After 1971, Sartawi became an advisor to Arafat, a member of the PNC, and a member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council. Abu Mazen and Sabri Jiryis, leaders of Fatah, delegated him to form a department to deal with Israeli affairs.

On February 28, 1976, Sartawi made his first contact with an Israeli - a lecturer from the Hebrew University. From this beginning he has had frequent visits from members of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Council, including Arieh Eliav, Matti Peled and Uri Avneri, at his Paris base.

Perhaps the high-spot of his diplomatic career came when, through his contacts with Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and the president of Ghana, Leopold Singor, Sartawi managed to arrange an official meeting between Yasir Arafat, Kreisky and former German Chancellor Willy Brandt, the chairman of the Socialist International, in July 1979.

Sartawi was married to an Iraqi doctor, also a cardiac specialist. They had two sons. His brother, Omar Sartawi, was killed in Salt, Jordan during an Israeli military operation in 1968.



In Memorium

A Victim for Peace

A strong brave man who knew how to change direction.

ISSAM SARTAWI

Violent hands of those who did not want negotiations took his life. But the spirit of peace continues in our good deeds, in non-violence, and in avoiding mutual pain.

INFORMATIONAL MOVEMENT OF CONSCIENTIOUS WAR RESISTERS
WRI SECTION
POB 28058, IL 61201 TEL AVIV-JAFFA

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What Went Wrong?

Jordan stated on April 10 that it was washing its hands of the Palestinian question and totally blamed the PLO for the former's failure to join the US-engineered and directed "peace negotiations."

The hidden meaning behind the statement through the strong wording and the pointed finger of accusation indicated there are more punishment measures to come. A Jordanian committee was designated to study amendments on the law of citizenship. Palestinian students in Jordanian schools and universities were told to either renounce their right to return to the West Bank and be drafted into the army or go back immediately without finishing their studies. These are only the harbingers of more retaliation to come.

The anger didn't stop with the Jordanian regime. The Saudi and Moroccan and their Arab clique were also disturbed and announced their intention to exert pressure on the PLO to rescind its stand. Husni Mubarak of Egypt pleaded with that well-chewed phrase that the Palestinians should "find a seat on the already departing train." Sultan Qabous of Oman, currently embracing the Washington allies, also echoed his master's voice. He requested that the "moderates" within the PLO should take action against the "radicals."

British Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym, showed concern and support for the Jordanian monarch's efforts to join the "peace" satellites. And last but not least US President Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz issued threats.

The whole of the imperialist world pulled out all the stops and pushed forward all their puppets against the Palestinian people and the PLO while their media and populations sat back and asked: "What went wrong?"

The answer is of course not some huge conspiracy of 'radicals' against 'moderates' but simply that the Palestinians stuck to the decision they democratically adopted at their national council meeting in Algiers two months ago. The west, while preaching democracy around the world as it sells the weapons and sometimes uses them, to install puppets, doesn't like democracy when it operates to the benefit of a people they wish to oppress. Of course, none of their allies in this region have the least idea what democracy is about so perhaps their anger can be somewhat excused.

If these Arab regimes want their efforts to be productive then they really ought to turn them in the right direction. To progress, pressure should be put on Israel, the US and their western allies. Attempting to crush the Palestinian people will not get these regimes out of the vicious circle they find themselves in. They must learn that it may be a simple matter to crack a dictatorship but it is well nigh impossible for them to topple a real democracy.

A Feeling of Crisis In the Arab World

by Ghassan Bishara, Our Washington, DC Correspondent

Following the Arab debacle (with the emphasis on the Arab rather than the Lebanese or Palestinian) of 1982, an *ad hoc* committee of Arab intellectuals called for a meeting in Tunis. The meeting of about 35 thinkers and social activists was to discuss such issues as freedom of thought, politics and society in the Arab world. The group met in Tunis between April 1 and 3 in the first of what may become a series of meetings.

We talked to Dr Hisham Sharabi, one of the *ad hoc* committee, prior to the meeting. Sharabi, a professor of intellectual history at Georgetown University, Washington DC, said the process of Arab retreat and disintegration can be traced to 'Sadat's crucial decision to submit and withdraw from Arab ranks.' The impact of that decision can still be observed, he continued. He also points to the failure of Syria-Iraq merger efforts and the ongoing Iran-Iraq war. In his estimation the Arab failure, or *inhiyar* (collapse), as he called it, is most tragic in its inability to deal with the Palestine issue - "the central problem" that faces the Arab world. Arab political, military and diplomatic retreats on this front are 'a syndrome from which the Arab world is suffering.' He said that the Arabs not only failed to unite on this issue, but even to cooperate. The recognised pattern is more enmity between Arab states than between Arabs and non-Arabs. He accused the Arab states of wasting Arab resources which, if used properly, he believes, could make the difference.

"Profound Hope"

The historian in Sharabi, however, makes him look at the present, bad as it is, in a not-too-desperate fashion. He holds "profound hope for the future" of the Arab world and people. Regardless of how strong Israel is through US support, he believes Arab society remains capable of restoring the balance. History, Sharabi says, "is not physics," and he drew an analogy between the 18th and 19th centuries of the Ottoman Empire and the present time in the Arab world.

Responding to Western advances, the Ottoman rulers instituted reforms of their own known as *nizam jadid* (new order) introducing the Janissaries, the 1830 reforms and parliament. The Ottoman Empire disintegrated as a result of World War I. In the Arab case, Sharabi continued, while modernisation is taking place due to the availability of money, "inside (the Arab body politic) there is something wrong which expresses itself in a series of failures and retreats."

Sharabi carries the analogy a step further, asking, in fact, if the same destiny that befell the Ottoman Empire's total collapse is awaiting the Arab order. Answering his own question, and bringing to his side the opinion of others, Sharabi said that the prospects of "an Arab collapse might dialectically produce the opposite." What may collapse, Sharabi said, are the "Arab structures responsible for these retreats."

The democratisation of Arab institutions and society, it is believed, will be the answer to these Arab illusions and retreats. Why? we asked.

"We have to start somewhere," Sharabi replied. "Talking in slogans of apocalyptic change won't do. Nor will a utopian transformation." But many believe, he continued, that "at the very heart of our problem... is the question of the status and dignity of the human being." For emphasis Sharabi mentioned some

areas needing discussion - education, women's rights, child-rearing, universities, pre-school conditions, government institutions and family. "All of these are connected with the central issue - our subject matter of discussion - democratic freedoms, freedom of speech and social justice."

Consciousness Raising

Apparently aware of the possible estimated Arab reaction to this gathering, Sharabi said the gathering in Tunisia will not necessarily relate itself "in opposition to the Arab status quo." Intentionally being more specific, Sharabi said, "We are not calling for a change of governments... or revolution," for fear of becoming useless at their task. He did admit that their "effectiveness might be limited" but added that he feels the non-confrontational approach will be better. Directly answering our question of whether there is a risk to the safety of those individuals at Tunis from the Arab world - considering the state of Arab oppression and intolerance - Sharabi said, "To answer your question briefly, no, I don't think so." He argued that the change must come from the inside.

Sharabi answered affirmatively our question about whether a possible intention behind the meeting is "raising the consciousness" of the Arab people. He added, "There must be pressure exerted on the existing regimes in the direction of liberalisation (and) reform of the political system... and the rethinking of the place of man in society." Social change, Sharabi added, any kind, "must always be preceded by a change in the level of consciousness."

The Strings that Come with the Money

In the Arab world it is believed that those who provide the money necessary for essential tasks are also in many cases the oppressors and probable targets of criticism including those who will gather in Tunis. To this Sharabi said that the Tunis meeting will not depend on anybody's goodwill. Although he agrees that this problem is a serious one, Sharabi said, "We are free of that." He then immediately added that the participants will have to take some risks, angrily asking, "Will some Arab countries be closed to us" or use other means of retaliation? "Anything is possible," he said, "considering the Arab state of affairs" but he concluded, "All I can say is, this is the least Arab intellectuals can do."

Sharabi also said that no representatives of any Arab government will be invited at all. Nor will it have, "any kind of sponsorship by even a remotely connected institution of any country or government."

A Beginning

Why Tunis? Sharabi said that they feel they can speak freely there, though they had considered not meeting in an Arab country. The expenses for this gathering, Sharabi said, have been contributed by personal non-governmental friends. Sharabi also rejected the idea that Tunis was selected because of the Arab League or PLO presence there.

The 35 who will take part in the discussion couldn't possibly make a representative sample of Arab world intellectuals, but Sharabi believes it may be the beginning of a series of debates dealing with the same object. Some have suggested that a continuation committee be established to follow up on issues, and perhaps a committee to monitor human rights in the Arab world.

OPINION

Irreversible?

by Uri Avnery

The scene seems taken from a surrealist film directed by crazy movie directors. A quiet cornfield, the green stalks slowly swaying in the gentle breeze. A few Beduin sit by the side of the field, drinking hot tea from a can sitting on the fire. A concrete block stands in the middle of the green field, its upper side smashed. It could have been a base for an electricity column on a street light. On the block is written, in black letters, "This is Eretz Israel. We will not withdraw!"

These words were written a year ago by an angry Jewish hand. On this site were houses, caravans, a lively settlement. Its inhabitants were quite sure of themselves, because they were backed by a strong resistance movement, ministers in the Israeli government, and officers in the army. They believed they held all the power. What government would dare destroy a Jewish settlement? Such a government doesn't exist!

Begin himself told the Egyptian editors who visited him in Jerusalem in January 1978, "Any government which decides to leave Jewish settlements in the Sinai will fall." At Camp David he told Carter, "I would cut out my eye and cut off my hand before (agreeing) to abandon a Jewish settlement."

The settlers were sure of themselves. Every day, they got more and more support. And that's why they were confident enough to write on walls, "We will never withdraw." Today, one year later, the words on the concrete block are the only signs that they were once here.

Some settlements disappeared totally, while others left signs of destruction, in the midst of which Beduin women now herd their goats. This is an ancient story. Occupiers come and occupiers go, but the Beduin remain forever with their goats.

A pastoral silence reigns today in northern Sinai.

Recently, everybody in Israel has been repeating a word which cannot adequately be translated from English into Hebrew — "Irreversible." The father of this word-theory is my friend Meron Benvenisti who published a rich research report concerning what is happening in the occupied territories — the legal situation, the confiscation of land, the facts, the plans. It's good to know and it's good that all these issues have been systematically studied by someone. If Benvenisti had only written the research, I would bless him. But he labelled the results of his research "irreversible," which means that it is impossible to cancel what has been done, that we have to accept the facts, one way or the other. What remains is to fight for equal rights for the Palestinians in the occupied territories as citizens of Greater Israel. Nothing can be done. That's it.

Sometimes, when he is in a good mood, Benvenisti says that the situation will become irreversible only in another year, and that maybe we can still do something. In two years, according to Benvenisti, 100,000 Jews will live in their luxury homes in the occupied territories, and then the situation will be irreversible. Why? *Kacha* [That's the way it is].

If Benvenisti says these things to arouse people to do something, then his good intentions are accepted. Elias Freij,

Nothing is irreversible. As in Yamit, those who settle in the occupied territories for money will go back for money — probably American dollars, says Uri Avnery.



the mayor of Bethlehem, uses this word "irreversible" in order to convey the feelings of urgency to the PLO leaders who are a long way from the occupied territories. In this way, he wants them to do something to take courageous decisions. Many Israelis also use this theory to try to push people in Israel to do something. It is good, but also very dangerous. This English word has a negative effect. It says to Begin and his followers: Hurry up! Complete your job in the next two years. Bring 50,000 more, 100,000 more Jews to the West Bank at any price, in every possible way, by every means. By doing so, we will insure the third Jewish kingdom in Israel forever. This theory says to Begin's opposers in Israel: That's it. It's a lost case. We are too late! Begin will remain in his office for the next two years, he will complete the job, and we will never be able to change what has been done.

This word says to the silent majority who are not for or against settlements: It is useless to decide for this or that side. Things have been done for good or bad, so let's watch the football game on TV.

I am tempted to answer the one English word with two others: *My foot!* Irreversible. Nothing is irreversible! Even our lives on the earth are reversible. What are the objective facts which serve this new myth? Why do 100,000 Jews on the West Bank make the situation irreversible? Why not, for instance, 87,284? Or 342,736? According to what calculation was the figure of 100,000 decided?

Most of the new settlers in the occupied territories are cynical: they go to settle for money. The justice of the Jews is not their concern, and for sure not the justice of the Arabs. Their main concern is that it is cheaper to buy a house in the occupied territories. How many of them will remain there when the government of the United States offers them one day an apartment in Los Angeles, a visa to the US, and a small green card? When the motivation is

passion for money and financial comfort, what then is irreversible? Is the stock market irreversible? He who went to settle for money will come back for money. Exactly as in Yamit.

We deal here with political processes and as such, the political logic finally decides. It is true that there are 50,000 settlers in the occupied territories for whom a peace treaty will mean leaving their houses, who will vote for the fanatic national parties from the extreme right to the fascists (except for the cynics who go to settle in the occupied territories in order to get compensation, which will make them millionaires, just as in Yamit).

It will make it more difficult for the moderate parties, but what here is irreversible? It's true too that it will be very expensive to remove the settlers. But the stupid American government of today which pays subsidies to all the settlements from the American taxpayers will have to pay when the day comes to remove the settlers. Nobody in Israel will shed tears — only the American taxpayers. Or maybe nobody will have money to pay compensation to the settlers and they will be removed without money. I won't feel sorry for them.

In principle, things are very simple. Either things will happen to convince the Israeli majority that it is possible to reach a peace agreement, or nothing will happen. If something happens, public opinion in Israel will change in a dramatic way, from one extreme to the other. Just like after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. If this happens, the new public opinion will give the government — no matter which — the moral and practical strength needed to decide to evacuate 100,000 Jews from the West Bank, or even 200,000.

The settlers will find themselves detached from the people, hated as the enemies of peace, and despicable as people who demand only compensation. They will tuck their tails between their legs as their friends in Yamit did, in

spite of the riots and noise.

But if nothing happens, and the Israeli majority cannot be convinced of the necessity of peace, then nobody will talk about withdrawal. And this question will not be raised at all — not if 50,000 or 300,000 settle in the occupied territories.

The dramatic event which will convince the Israelis of the necessity of making peace could be negative or positive. Sadat demonstrated the positive possibility. He made an historic decision. You can't stroll today in northern Sinai among the destruction and the goats, without realising that the new reality happened thanks to one man's decision.

The dramatic event could also be negative. In war everything is reversible. Every advancing army can be forced to withdraw. Every winning army corps can face defeat. Nothing is more changeable in history than the fortunes of war. And nothing is less stable than a power which relies only on brute force.

Meron Benvenisti is also an expert on the history of the Crusader wars. The Crusaders were in this country for 200 years. They had expanded for many years and built castles, proceeded on, built other castles, and so on. They believed in the depth of their hearts that this process was irreversible. But their war-luck changed. And from all their kingdom, nothing remains today except the castles they built in Eretz Israel [Palestine — Tr.], on the two sides of the Jordan, in Lebanon and in Syria. In Yamit, not even castles are left.

Nothing is irreversible. Even our national existence in this land, as we see from what happened to us in the first and second Jewish kingdoms. Then it was also believed that the situation was irreversible.

Believing this, they committed the mistakes which led to their disappearance.

A lonely concrete block in a cornfield, south of Yamit. The Beduin girls who herd their goats in the area don't look at it and don't know how to read what is written. A sad scene? Not at all! Yamit and its little sisters didn't fall in a war. A great act of peace was the cause for the change. The daring of a single man of peace convinced most of the Israeli people, except for a few crazies, to ignore their superstitions and to give Sinai back to its owners. And thanks to that, we can now stroll in the area peacefully.

They will say, "The West Bank is nothing like Yamit. In Yamit, it was easy, and no resistance was shown there except the comedy of the 'Stop the Withdrawal' movement. In Gaza and the West Bank, it will be tougher."

Maybe, but when the time comes, it will happen.

It's easy to place mines, and difficult to neutralise them. Every additional settlement is a mine placed in the way of peace. In the Israeli army there are experts who know how to neutralise mines. And when the day comes, experts will be found to neutralise the mines on the peace road.

This is the message of the concrete block, at a place called Hrovit, which before and after was called Harava.

Everything is reversible. (Translation: HaOlam Haze, March 23, 1983)

After a 15-minute drive north of Nazareth, one passes through a large village at the foot of three grass-covered mountains. It is Kufir Kanna, which still lives in the minds of older Palestinians as the historic centre of the Christian religion in the area. The religious importance of Kufir Kanna almost vanished after 1948. Historically, Kufir Kanna is supposed to be the village which Christ visited and where he turned water into wine. The churches which still stand in the village, despite the small number of Christians, are evidence of its importance. Ancient remains of earlier villages can still be seen around Kufir Kanna. From 1926 to 1945 there was a municipality in the village which was dissolved by the British mandate authorities after differences erupted between local residents.

The current major problem is overcrowding. The population of 9000 lives along narrow lanes and alleys barely wide enough for a car. The very steep slopes on which the village nestles are added difficulties.

Problems of the Village

The problems of Kufir Kanna are not so different from those faced by other Palestinian villages inside the 1948 borders of Israel. Before 1948, Kufir Kanna had 19,000 dunums which included 10,000 dunums of *miri* land — public grazing areas. According to Saleh Taha, the head of the local council,

The current wave .. which has overcrowded all West Bank hospitals reveals an acute health need in the occupied territories — the need for a large, modern, advanced hospital to serve the population. Dr Yasir Obeid, a local medic who is employed by the Jordanian government, has been working for the past three years to change this need into a fact. He could have cause for optimism. Recent statements by the Israeli minister of health at the opening of a health centre in East Jerusalem indicated some Israeli willingness to allow a project for the establishment of an Arab hospital in Jerusalem. Local medical personalities are sceptical, however, about final Israeli approval ever coming through.

Hospital Turned Police Station

The need for a hospital in Jerusalem was recognised by health planners prior to the 1967 Israeli occupation of the city. The Jordanian government, which was then renting an Austrian-owned hospital in the Old City, constructed a purpose built hospital in the Sheikh Jarrah suburb. It was scheduled for opening in October 1967. The June war put an end to that plan, however, and the occupation authorities took over the spreading hospital complex for use as a police station.

At the same time the Old City Hospice, the government facility, was becoming run-down. Conditions deteriorated in the Hospice and Israel cut the number of beds available in it. The Austrian church owners of the building began to press for its reconversion for use by pilgrims, for which it was constructed. The Jordanian government presently pays JD1,400 annual rent for the large complex.

For years Jerusalem's Arab residents have been pressing for a hospital to replace the confiscated Sheikh Jarrah premises. In 1978, the Jordanians appointed Yasir Obeid, a Ramallah physician and chairman of the board of trustees of al-Bireh nursing college, as director of health services for the Jerusalem area. Before accepting the post, Obeid, who was already a Jordanian

KNOW PALESTINE

Historic Kufir Kanna Faces Overcrowding Today

by Awad Abdel Fattah

about 50 percent of the population owned land, while the rest worked for them.

The 10,000 dunums of *miri* land were gradually taken over by the so-called Israel Land Administration after 1948. The population is now totally denied access to them. In 1976, about 1500 dunums were declared confiscated by the Israeli authorities, in the framework of the major Galilee confiscation campaign which provoked the first Land Day in 1976.

"What is left today," said Saleh Taha, "is only 6000 dunums, most of which is owned by less than 30 percent of the population" — about two-thirds of a dunum per person.

The shortage of land and the refusal of the authorities to expand the village master plan, have created an acute housing crisis. Saleh Taha told *Al Fajr* that the present construction zone consists of 560 dunums. Consequently there are 150 new houses without permits.

"What else can we do? It is impossible to continue to live in a tin-can," said one man who built his house without a permit.

"They do not want us to prosper," said another resident. "It is a purely racist policy." The local council has had a request to extend the construction zone by 500 dunums filed at the Israeli interior ministry for the last four years. The request has fallen on deaf ears.

The problem of construction has been made more complex by the recent land law which specifies that any resident who wishes to build a new house must pay half the price of his land in taxes. A village elder, Ahmad Mahmoud Fayyad, received a tax demand recently. He has to pay IS348,560 for two dunums. All landowners in the village received similar tax demands.

Insufficient Budgets

The local council which was set up in 1969 also faces problems and obstacles from the Israeli authorities.

The head of the local council told *Al Fajr* that currently they are facing a fiscal crisis. Out of the IS35 million which was proposed as a general budget, last year, only IS24 million was approved, and that from the IS11 million development budget only IS600,000 was paid.

The head explained that 60 percent of the general budget is spent on the schools for teachers' salaries and equipment. Another 20 percent goes for taxes.

One member of the local council told *Al Fajr* that the villagers themselves collected money to add eight rooms to the existing secondary school, two years ago. "Despite this," he said, "the racist Israeli authorities have not done anything to provide us money to build all the rooms needed. We are still 13 rooms short."

Kufir Kanna has no drainage system, internal road network or clubs. The roads inside the village are very narrow and about 5000 square meters need paving or repair.

The only two clubs which exist in the village belong to two political groups, the Communist Party and Abna' al-Balad. They concentrate on political and social education but have no special equipment. "Most of the youths spend their time in the cafes," said Omar Sa'ad, a village resident.

Hopes Rise for New Arab Hospital in Jerusalem

by Daoud Kuttah



The Hospice Hospital of the Old City, Jerusalem. Its patient burden heavy, efforts are being made to construct a new health facility/SF

employee and close to government officials, reportedly told the health minister that he would take the post only if they allowed him to replace every facility which had been closed.

The Arab Hospital

In 1979, with the patient burden on the Hospice Hospital increasing, Dr Obeid accompanied Faik Barakat, head of the Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce, Dr Amin Khatib, head of the West Bank Charitable Union and Dr Abdallah Khoury, director of the Hospice, to a meeting with the Arab Affairs Advisor to the Jerusalem municipality. After a series of meetings the Kollek administration announced it would "not bar" a building license for the project — on condition that the funds for it did not come from the PLO.

According to Yasir Obeid Israeli officials asserted during their discussions that there was no need for an Arab hospital considering the availability of Haddassah. Obeid reportedly replied: "You have a hospital for religious Jews (Shaare Zedek) so why not one for the Arabs?"

After much discussion and difficulty, Obeid, who was now working alone according to Abdallah Khoury, got a final agreement from the municipality that it would not obstruct the

establishment of an Arab hospital. Then the Jordanian health minister sent Obeid a letter offering funding. With this in hand he could meet again with the Israelis to discuss a site. Obeid says he suggested a strip in Sheikh Jarrah owned by the late Amina Khaldi.

Obeid says that municipal officials replied quickly that the hospital could not be built there, "because the land is confiscated and lies too close to the no-man's land which separated East and West Jerusalem before 1967."

Obeid suggested another site opposite the Shepherd's Hotel, behind the Arab Graduates Club. He was informed that the land had been grabbed by the Israeli government. A strip on the Mount of Olives was ruled out by Maurice Zalkhe, Kollek's Arab advisor, for the same reason.

Now unsure whether the Israelis were serious about their promise to allow construction, Obeid reportedly suggested that they show a site where construction would be permitted. The reply was prompt: "Anywhere in the Beit Hanina, Shu'afat areas will be permitted." Obeid finally located an empty 120 dunum plot near the Islamic College.

With apparent agreement between Obeid and the municipality, a letter was sent to Israeli Health Minister Eliazar Shostak about six months ago. In mid-

February, while opening an East Jerusalem clinic in Sheikh Jarrah near the Jordanian health compound taken over for the police headquarters, he announced: "We are opening a health centre for Arabs and to those who say we are not allowing a hospital for Arabs I say they are free to open (one)."

Obeid heard the statement on TV and later, on February 27, received an official letter of approval. The letter was addressed to Obeid as 'Director of Health Services for the Jordanian Government'.

Obeid told *Al Fajr* that this is the first time an Arab in the West Bank has received recognition as an official of the Jordanian government. The Israeli weekly, *Kol Hair*, disclosed the contacts, March 25, and described them as, "Official Jordanian-Israeli contacts to establish an Arab hospital." Obeid confirmed the *Kol Hair* story but insisted the talks were "technical" not "official."

During his recent participation in the Arab health ministers' summit he was given US\$ 2 million to start work on a new out-patient clinic. Obeid is hoping that the Arab Health Welfare Society (AHWS), of which he is a member and which was planning to build a major medical facility in Surda near Bir Zeit, will accept his offer to move the proposed plan to Beit Hanina.

Dr Issa Salti, head of AHWS, was not enthused with the idea. "I am very sceptical of Israeli willingness to grant the needed licenses. All that Obeid has is a letter saying that the health minister does not mind a hospital being built for Arabs in Jerusalem."

He would not rule out the possibility of cooperation, however, saying that he might get involved when there is more tangible information. "No plan has been presented for approval. We don't know whether the Israelis will allow for a nuclear medicine unit, whether they will allow a 500-bed hospital or only a 150-bed facility." Salti also noted that his society was an independent institution and would not get involved in any project unless it could remain independent.

The Old Lady and The Pious

A person who used to live in town was famous for his Hassidic acts, so the people in the town decided to call him a *Promer* [Yiddish word for Hassid]. One day the Hassid got sick. His family heard that a group of men from the town was planning to visit the famous Zaddik [Master] Rabbi Naham, the son of the Resino, to receive his blessing. The delegation to the Zaddik agreed to ask him to bless the *Promer* so that he might recover from his sickness. When the piece of paper was given to the Rabbi with the name of the *Promer* on it, the Zaddik said, "I don't know what *Promer* means, and my father never told me what it means. But I think it refers to a dress whose top is made from conceit and whose bottom is made from hatred, and it is sewn with the threads of sadness."

Fatmeh Abu Mayaleh also didn't know what the *Promer* is. But if anyone explained the word to her as it was explained by Rabbi Naham from Shtabina, she would surely scream and say, "These are my neighbours from Brachat Avraham Yeshiva." But Fatmeh Abu Mayaleh cannot shout and scream, or even talk or whisper. She is lying unconscious in Makassed Hospital in East Jerusalem. Her old body is covered with blue bruises. Her right hand with which she tried to protect her head is covered with a thick bandage. Her head is full of stitches, and from time to time an unclear groaning comes from her mouth. On hearing this, her two old sisters who sit next to her bed jump from their places.

In medical terminology, the young physician who treated Fatmeh explained that she suffers from a concussion and fractures of her skull; she is unconscious and has bruises caused by blows from a blunt instrument.

In the next room, a young man lies who also complains about pains in his back and neck caused from blows, which he suffered as he was trying to save Fatmeh's life. He tells the following: "On Sunday I came back from my prayers in al-Aqsa mosque with my friends. We walked in the direction of Aqbat al-Kaldiye Street, where Fatmeh lives, and all of a sudden we heard people screaming, 'The Jews killed a woman.' We ran in the direction of the house, but couldn't get near it. The yeshiva students, those Ashkenazis with curls, threw stones on all passers-by, while a group of border guard soldiers stood nearby."

"I approached one soldier who seemed to me to be the commander and asked him to intervene so we (me and my friends) could enter Fatmeh's house and find out what happened to her. The commander started dealing with the religious, and a long and fruitless dialogue started; he shouted and they replied with stones. Then I decided that I couldn't wait any longer and ran into the house."

"Because of the dark I couldn't find the place where Fatmeh lay, but then I smelled soup and, following the direction of the smell, all of a sudden I came upon a shocking scene. Fatmeh was lying on the floor and blood covered her whole body. In a small room which she used to cook her meals, I found a mess all over the place. Everything was upside down, the cooking pot was on the floor, and soup was

dripping from her hair. I am not a strong person, and I don't know how I gained the strength to carry her outside. But while I was carrying her, I felt someone hitting my back and neck from behind. I couldn't turn around to identify who was hitting me. At the entrance to the house, two of my friends appeared and helped me carry the woman. After carrying her a few hundred meters, I collapsed and lost consciousness and was brought here to the hospital."

One more story: Rabbi Yaacov from Sdi Gora was asked once "Our wise people (*Hachamim*) say there is not one in the world who is left without a place, and if it is so, why cannot places for the people be found?" The Rabbi answered, "Because everyone wants to take his friend's place." Fatmeh and her husband's misfortune is that they have a house which their neighbours at Brachat Avraham Yeshiva want. The yeshiva people claim that the house belongs to Jews, and that the Arabs should give it back to the owners. Most of the Arab families decided not to fight with the new neighbours and left their houses. But Fatmeh and her old husband cannot afford to move and start a new house at their age, and so didn't agree to leave. Material temptation and violence from their Jewish neighbours didn't make them change their minds. Only three weeks ago Fatmeh's husband was hit by a neighbour because he didn't want to sell his house. Her husband complained to the police who were investigating one Yeshiva student. The family believed that this would bring an end to their suffering.

And then the attack on Fatmeh occurred. The strangest thing in this story is the police behavior. I asked the police if they have investigated, and they told me, "We're dealing with the story."

"Did you take anyone to prison? Did you interrogate anyone?"

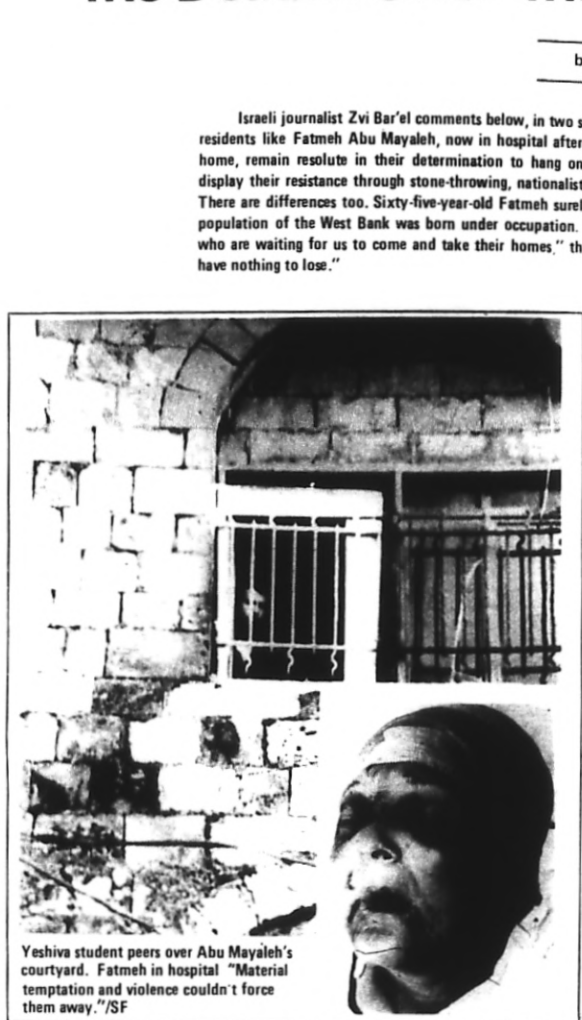
Their reply was, "Look, we can't talk with the woman as long as she's unconscious."

"What about the young man who helped her? Did you investigate the attack on him?"

"We took his testimony, but we can't investigate in his case because he didn't complain." But the young man told me that no one from the police authority came to him and asked him about the attack. I asked him whether he complained to the police. "I'm afraid to do so; when the yeshiva students find out I complained against them, they will try to hurt me. My home is next to the yeshiva, and I don't want to live in fear, and I can't expect the police to protect me."

Later on, the police authorities told me that they have nine students in the prison concerning the attack on Fatmeh. But earlier I was told that the imprisonment of these people was connected to another story. When a foreign photographer came to take pictures of Fatmeh's home he was attacked by the yeshiva students with water pipes, and later on the yeshiva students and Arab kids started throwing stones at each other.

The Arabs who live in the neighbourhood where many yeshivas are con-



Yeshiva student peers over Abu Mayaleh's courtyard. Fatmeh in hospital. "Material temptation and violence couldn't force them away." /SF

centrated told me about the relationship between the Arabs and their Jewish neighbours. They say that their neighbours threaten them every day. "Once we saw in the morning, written on the walls, 'Leave, or we will force you out.' This system works sometimes, and from month to month, the population of the alley changes. An Arab family leaves, and Jewish students come to replace them. For the one who decides to stay, his life becomes a hell."

On the site of the Haye Olam Yeshiva, of Rabbi Breslov's followers, eight Arab families used to live, but the yeshiva won, and the Arabs left. The disturbances and the money succeeded to force people to leave. Tefaeret-Cohanim on the east and Hazer Galecia on the west are fighting with Arab families to force them to leave their homes; and the two yeshivas are trying to connect with each other and the distance is becoming closer. The Arabs know who will win in the end. Until the street of Aqbat al-Kaldiye is again called Hebron Street as it was called a long time ago, the "Promers" will not sit quietly.

We act as though things are the way they should be, and we treat the Arabs like temporary residents who are

waiting for us to come and take their homes. And it seems as though the hand of the law is hesitating and shivering.

In such an atmosphere, it is appropriate to tell the following story:

A Hassid came to a Rabbi from Kozek. "Rabbi," he said, "I always think, and find no rest." The Rabbi asked him, "What are you thinking about?"

"I wonder whether there is justice and a judge."

"Why do you care?" answered the Rabbi.

"If there is no justice and no judge, what then is the purpose of creation?"

"Why do you care?" answered the Rabbi.

"Rabbi, if there is no justice and no judge, for what do we need the Torah?"

"Why do you care?" answered the Rabbi.

"What is the Rabbi talking about, and why should I care?"

"If you care that much, you are a good Jew, and a good Jew has the right to think and to wonder, but not to hurt," said the Rabbi. (Translation: Haaretz, April 8, 1983)

The Defiant Ones: Their Voices Will Be Heard

by Zvi Bar'el

Israeli journalist Zvi Bar'el comments below, in two separate pieces, on the brutal effects of occupation on Palestinians. Older residents like Fatmeh Abu Mayaleh, now in hospital after an assault on her by yeshiva students intent on grabbing her Old City home, remain resolute in their determination to hang on to their land. The "stone children" of the roadside camps and towns display their resistance through stone-throwing, nationalist songs and drawings of their parents' homes, homes they've never seen. There are differences too. Sixty-five-year-old Fatmeh surely remembers the days before occupation, but today more than half the population of the West Bank was born under occupation. Bar'el warns: though Israelis "treat the Arabs like temporary residents who are waiting for us to come and take their homes," the generation born under occupation is increasingly desperate, "they will have nothing to lose."

The Stone Children

Near Arroub refugee camp on the way to Hebron, a group of 5- to 6-year-old kids stood singing "Falastin Bladna, Wa al Yahud Klabna" [Palestine is our country and the Jews are our dogs]. For many years this song has been sung by little kids and teenagers. Sometimes loudly and sometimes in silence, and with fear as it was in Arroub where they were ready to run away. In front of them sits a group of

soldiers on the command car, facing their camp, ready for the stone which could strike at any minute. They don't understand the song's words, but they know that the combination of "Falastin" and "Yahud" can't be love song. [Military] orders don't forbid children from singing — not yet. And as long as the kids sing without throwing stones and burning tyres, co-existence is kept.

For these children, this song has



Palestinian children born under occupation protest and draw in the "book of memory." Their songs will be heard clearly, and "this will be the reason for their existence."

become a national anthem, and to sing it in front of the enemy is a courageous act. They don't acknowledge the map of Palestine with its core bitten out. In their Palestine, you find the land of Iraq al-Manshia, Asqalan, Hwile, which have now become Kiryat Gat, Ashkelon and Amzia. They have heard about this from their parents, most of whom work today in factories in towns from which they escaped or were forced to leave. And the tradition goes on.

Majid, a 5-year-old from Addin, doesn't yet go to school or know how to read and write. He hasn't yet learned how to spell the words of the "national anthem." He has only left the camp a few times to go to the big city of Hebron. But he knows how to describe exactly the mosque in the village of Zachria where his family used to live.

His parents were his age when they escaped. He knows exactly where the village stood and the mukhtar's house, and his uncle's and aunt's house. All this was told him by his grandpa, who has been telling the story for the last 35 years, every night, when the family gathers in the yard of their new house built by UNRWA. The grandpa reminds his children about the village and the piece of land which they owned. He used to sit and draw the streets and houses on paper from a simple school copybook. And in this way, the book of memory is edited.

For the first generation, it was easy to explain and remind them. They were born in the village and spent part of their childhood there. The pictures are still deep in their mind. When they grow up and go to visit their birthplace, the new houses built in the meantime only thinly disguise the old. For them the grocery store is what used to be Uncle Abdulatif's house. And next to it is Aziza's house, grandpa's sister. When they sing *Falastin Bladna*, in their memory they see the cactus bush and the rows in the fields where they used to walk barefoot next to their fathers' donkeys.

The grandchildren, Majid and his brother, have to use their imagination. They didn't see all of this, and their memory plays no role. They were born in a refugee camp and from their childhood, they will probably remember the mulberry bush next to the stone house which was built by UNRWA, the open drainage canals, the strong smell of the *taboon* [bread oven] and the soldiers who stood in front of them while they sang the national anthem. They will continue singing the song as we still sing the *Hingo* song, "The Romans fought, but the victory is ours." Who among us recently saw a Roman occupier? But all of us drew pictures in school of the legions of occupiers, and with open mouths we listened to the victory story of the brave Jews.

On the West Bank they sing *Falastin Bladna*, until they are 18. When they leave school, they will stop singing. Then, there is no one with whom to sing. Some childhood friends leave to study abroad, where there is no reason to sing. And you have no one in front of you to provoke. The others go to work in Israel, where there is no time to sing, and fear of the boss is great. This song you can't sing by yourself. People sing national anthems together, in demonstrations or in wars. Fifteen-thousand new "singers" are added to the West Bank "choir" each year. From the statistical report which was published by the "civil administration," we learn that 203,000 pupils study in government schools and 55,000 more in the UNRWA schools. In addition to these figures, there are 100,000 children under 6 years

old and a few thousand who don't go to school at all. And there are 25,000 youths who work in Israel.

If we add all these figures, we find a very surprising fact. More than half of the population of the West Bank was born under the Israeli occupation. A population who from the beginning of their lives saw the rifle, the helmet and the club. This is the population of the new Palestinian generation — youths who remember their country ruled by a foreigner. And not only a foreigner, but a bitter enemy, perceived as the thieves of their land and the Arab fatherland.

It is true that not all youths go to the streets to throw stones or to sing *Falastin Bladna*, but the hatred is there and is increasing from month to month and from year to year. Everyday new children are born who in five years will stand on the roadside in the town or in the entrance to the refugee camp and sing their song in front of the soldiers. They don't understand "enlightened government" or "liberal occupation." To fight against the occupation is a national mission, a traditional obligation like praying five times a day or going to Holy Mecca.

More important than that, the new generation and leadership will come from this population. The same kids who are fined thousands of shekels as punishment for throwing stones today and who graduate from Fara'a prison camp will become in a few years the intelligentsia of the West Bank. And they will be called the "dignitaries" or "the respected," "political activists," and "the representatives of the organisation." They will be called to the military governor's building to take responsibility for the actions of children now in their mothers' wombs.

There are some people in Israel who believe that the Arabs will get used to the new reality and will accept us among them, especially if Israel increases the settlements on the West Bank. And those who believe this theory cite the current acceptance of the occupation by the Palestinians, the economic prosperity, and the lives lived without disturbance. According to them, everything is ideal. And their slogan is "Time works for us."

But we have to remember that the number of kids who were potential stone-throwers in 1967 is half the number today. National awareness didn't exist then. And the PLO was in its infancy. The political leadership on the West Bank had to satisfy a population which didn't know what to do, since national figures in those days were considered the leaders who called for the return of the West Bank to Jordan.

Today, the population demands more from its leadership. The youth born under the occupation or a few years earlier believe that the existing leadership is too moderate and their achievements very little. They believe that the declarations of (Bethlehem Mayor) Freij and (Gaza Mayor) Shawwa lead nowhere. With time, which is considered to be working for us, we will find ourselves having to cope with the new thoughts of a new generation. With a more desperate generation than their predecessors, a generation which will have nothing to lose. With such a generation, it will be very difficult to talk about a moderate and politically rational leadership, when the words *Falastin Bladna* raise only memories. The song will be heard clearly and from hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, and this will be the reason for their existence. (Translation: Haaretz, April 6, 1983)

Al Fajr continues the list of books banned in the West Bank by the Israeli military authorities as published for the first time in cumulative form by the Israeli Defence Forces, September 20, 1982, under the title *Decrees, Orders and Stipulations: Order Regarding Hostile Propaganda*. Among those banned are books by the heads of state of Jordan, Libya and Iraq.

Al Fajr appreciates the help of Law in the Service of Man, Ramallah, with the translation of titles.

מסדרים צוים ומינויים
סדר
אשר יחידים

منشور، اوامر وتعيينات

Order Regarding Hostile Propaganda



King Hussein's *Our War With Israel* is banned from "importation, publication and distribution" in the West Bank.



as is Muammar al-Qaddafi's *The Third Ideology*.



and Saddam Hussein's *Thoughts and Stands*.

BOOKS BANNED IN THE WEST BANK

Title	Author	Place of Publication	Publisher
Jewish Expansionist Greed	Abd al Wahab al-Killani	Beirut Research Centre	
Corrupters of the Land	Suleiman Naji	Damascus Insha' Press	
The Arab Boycott and International Law	Joseph Mughaisal	Beirut Research Centre	
National Battle and Modern Poetry	Hilmi Ali Marzouq	Alexandria Dar Salah El-Din	
Israeli Conspiracies Against the People	Anton al Khouri (Translated)	Egypt	
Conspiracy and the Battle of Destiny	Said Juma a	Beirut Dar al-Katib	
Women Have White Teeth	Ihsan Abdel Qaddus	Cairo Dar al-Mashriq	
Setback and Error	Adib Nassur	Beirut Dar al-Katib	
The Defeat Was Called Fatima	Ihsan Abdel Qaddus	Cairo Dar al-Maaref	
Types of Jordanian Poetry		Amman Minister of Education	
Unity and the Palestine Cause	Nasser al Din Nashashibi	Cairo Dar al-Qawmiah	
The Legal Status of Arab Resistance in the Occupied Territories	Elias Hanna	Beirut Research Centre	
Jews in the Qur'an	Abd al Fattah Tabara	Beirut Dar al-Kutub	
Jews in the Early History of Civilisations	Gustave le Bon	Cairo	
Judaism	Ahmad Shalabi	Cairo al-Nahda Bookstore	
International Judaism	Riyad al Barudi	Beirut Education House	
Continual War on Christianity	Elia Abu Irrus	Beirut Alliance House	
I Am Returning From Israel	Ibrahim Izzat	Beirut Dar al-Haya'	
The Water Channels	Hassa Abdulla al Qurishi	Cairo Dar al-Ma'aref	
Zionist Aims	(translated) Fredrick Zriq	Damascus al-Hamdany Press	
Stop This Cancer	Saif al-Din al-Bustani	Damascus Dar al-Nahda	
Protocols of the Elders of Zion	Ajaj Nuwaihadd	Beirut	
Protocols of the Elders of Zion	Shawqi Abdel Nasser	Beirut	
Baghdad and the Revolutionaries	Fawzi al Atweh	Beirut Dar al-Katib al-Arabi	
Evolution and Stability in the Lives of People	Mohammad Kutub	Egypt Wahbeh Bookshop	
The New Dawn in Preaching and Counselling	Ali Refa i	Cairo Sbeeh Bookshop	
The Arab-Israeli Struggle	Abdel Haleem Hreidi	Misr Dar al-Shurooq	
International Zionist		Cairo Dar al-Cahira	
Israeli Affairs	Ahmad Baha al Din	Cairo Dar al-Hilal	
Zionist Israel	Abd al Mun em Shams	Cairo Dar al-Cahira	
Our Night News	Nabil Khoury	Beirut Maaref Bookstore	
Thoughts and Stands	Saddam Hussein	Beirut Embassy of Iraq	
About the Holy City	Kamal Yousef al-Haj	Cairo Islamic Council	
About Zionist Philosophy	Azhar Theologians	Beirut	
Friday and Holiday Sermons		Cairo Dar al-Maaref	
The Danger of International Judaism to Islam and Christianity	Abdullah al Tal	Cairo Dar al-Qalam	
Studies in Poetry and Criticism	Nasser al Hani	Beirut Modern Bookstore	
Studies in Modern Arab History	Omar Abd al-Aziz Omar	Beirut	
Speakers Guide to Platform Speeches	Ahmad al Bakri Baypers	Cairo Sbeeh Bookstore	
Velvet and Fine Linen	Maroun Abboud	Beirut Dar al-Thaqafa	
The State of Israel	Galina Nikitina	Cairo Dar al-Hilal	
The Anthology of the Occupied Homeland	Yousef al Khatib	Damascus Dar Falastin	
Warm Memories	Ahmed Ghreibeh	Beirut Maaref Institute	
Men of History	Ali al-Tantawi	Beirut al-Maktaba al-Amawiyyeh	
Mercy, Oh Damascus	Suheil Idris	Beirut Dar al-Adab	
Departure of Old Ports	Ghada Sama'an	Beirut Dar al-Adab	
Rashid Rida The Struggling Immam	Ibrahim Ahmed al-Adawi	Cairo General Institute	
Earthquake in Tel Aviv	Almidani Ben Saleh	Tunis Dar al-Tunisi	
The Wife of Mini Jupe	Hussam al Din al-Husami	Beirut Maaref Bookstore	
Our War With Israel	King Hussein	Political Books	
The People of Israel when They Rule	Ali Ahmed Bakthi	Cairo Nasser Bookstore	
The Chosen People of God	Ihsan Abd al Qaddus	Cairo Dar al-Hilal	
His Lips	A.M.K.	Beirut National Press	
The Sun of Nasserism Shines on the World	Ahmed Faraj Tab a	Cairo Dar Ashaab	
Undisclosed Pages on Palestine	Arafat Hijazi	Amman Matba' Ashaab	
The Voice of Palestine	"An Arab Editor"	Amman The New Press	
Pictures from the West Bank	Mohammad Kamal Hussein	Cairo Dar al-Maaref	
The Druze Community, History and Beliefs	Ali Khalil Ham-mad	Jerusalem Karami Press	
Two Worlds in a Chamber	Arab Cultured Men	Cairo Dar al-Maaref	
Abd al-Nasser and Palestine	Ishaq Mussa al-Husseini	Beirut Research Centre	
The Holy City is Arab	Abd al Aziz Ayzuli	Damascus Ibn Zaydoun Press	
A Sermon on the Calamity of Palestine	Ghassan Kanafani	Beirut Dar al-Thaqafa	
Men and Guns	Haroun Hashim Rashid	Beirut Commercial Bookstore	
The Stranger Returns	Mohammad Ali Ahmed	Cairo Dar al-Maaref	
I Sang for the World	Ali Amin	Cairo Dar al-Maaref	
Thought in Exile	A Major Arab Politician"	Beirut Research Centre	
Palestine Home of Ethics and Thought	Abd al-Ghaffar al-Hayyar	Egypt Dar al-Khitab al-Arabi	
Palestine for the Arabs	Mohammad Ali Awiyyeh	Cairo Dar al-Hilal	
Palestine and Human Conscience		Baghdad Ministry of Education	
Palestine and the New Tartar Invasion		Beirut Dar al-Adab	
The Third Ideology		Beirut Sader Press	
Awaiting the Bird of Promise		Beirut Dar al-Talia'	
For the Sake of Truth		Beirut Dar al-Kutub	
Poetry at the Time of (Fath) Opening		Cairo Dar al-Maaref	
My Story with Poetry		Beirut Commercial Office	
The Struggle Between the Arabs and Colonialism		Beirut Research Centre	
Arab Causes		Egypt The General Institute	
The Jerusalem Cause		Cairo Dar al-Maaref	
The Chair on the Left		Beirut Dar al-Shurooq	
How Zionist Leaders Think		Beirut Dar al-Shurooq	
I Cannot Think While Dancing		Cairo Khanjee Institute	
Do Not Turn Off the Sun			
Night Has an End			

THE SLAP

by Omar Hamash

Omar Hamash is a resident of the Jabalia refugee camp, the Gaza Strip.

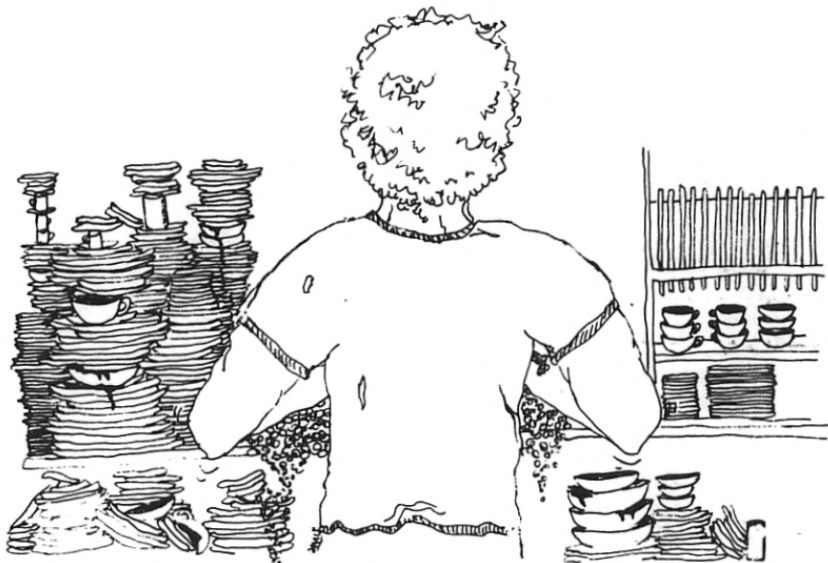
The hall is overcrowded. Completely full. All are dancers. All in motion. The lights are dim. The music coming from the hall is transformed into wailing. The wailing of crazy people. The dishes are constantly piling up. Piles and piles. He has mastered the skill of washing-up. He is creative in this skill. His fingers are making rhythmic movements. The dishes arrive on their shelves safely. To break a plate means his dismissal and then a new long search for work. Perhaps as a blacksmith he will be deafened by the sounds of the hammer over an iron rod. Or exhausted from working with the mattock, swinging it with all his might to start the foundations of a new building. Whenever and wherever he goes there is a wailing.

The piles are accumulating. The wailings are increasing. Their mouths are wide open. Plates are falling. Majdal is awake till dawn. The music sounds like the wailing of lunatics. They are insane with food, insane with drink, and uproar, and dark, deep hatred.

His spirit is engulfed by the cups, plunged into the plates in the foam and soap. The cries of the wailing waken him, hurt him. He shakes himself and escapes into the cups, into the remains of whisky, of roasted meat. His self is lost. He quiets his breath, restrains his emotions and immerses their remains within the wash basin. The garbage is swept between their legs. They are asked to move their feet. They continue singing "Mohammad died and his offspring are women." They put his boilers in the tar and continue drinking without wanting to look at his face. He hardens his soul, plunges it again into the soapy foam. His hands, like two spiral springs, are doing the work automatically. He has mastered his work. One pile comes, another goes. Their stomachs are not full yet and will never be full if he is late finishing the new pile of plates. They curse him, insult the Arabs, his Arabs and the Arab presidents. And roll them in dirt.

Tonight you have to be strong. It is Saturday night and the vigil of work will last until dawn, and the riot will last all night long. If somebody was not proclaimed sultan he would discharge his hatred in you and you would have to endure his malice and their malice. In the eastern and western parts of the earth you remain the pack-camel. Those who are not proclaimed sultans will be proclaimed sultans over you and your father. That is what they want and plot. The time is theirs and they came to the camp. Majdal became theirs: your father talked to you about Majdal. You became very sad.

The soap stings you. They urge you to work quickly, to produce more. The piles of plates continue to grow. You have to move your spiral springs quickly, to forget the pains in your back, the shaking in your legs. You get tired, sweat streams all over your body, your eyes widen, you go out of your head, you penetrate the cries, the wailings. Your legs take you out, roam the streets, round the first corner, then the next. A few steps. Here's the shop. Its



door: is closed, its owner has not come yet. You withdraw within yourself, lean, stifled. Does anybody understand what this means? You understand. You take your eyes off the street. Another bend, "The Square." You walk on, enter a narrow alley, face the *divan* of "Abu Shusheh". This *divan* contains your father's tales.

You plunge your soul into the plates again. You are weak, you cry like an infant. The remains of Abu Shusheh stare at you. Do not be weak, do not lament. You escape, run, like some monstrous mysterious things, like something you do not know its shape its depth its secret. You slow down. Another bend. You stop, frozen. You feel sick of the malice, you weep blood. Does anybody understand what this means? You understand it.

In the bricks of your father's house his sweat has mixed with his blood: part of his body is here. His flesh stares at you, pulls your ear, slaps your face. The sweat again. The blood strikes your face, slaps you. The slap is as hard as the house. Abu Shusheh, Majdal.

You go back, escape, run. You understand your father. The house hit him. The shop, Abu Shusheh, he entered the hut. The wailing increases again, penetrating your body. You collect yourself, try to strengthen yourself, but the slap is violent and at the same time rapturous. You enjoyed the slap. The cries creep into your mind. You stop breathing. "Haarvim hamourim," (the Arabs are donkeys). He does not understand.

You wake up. The awakening is painful, dragging you into the wash basin, foam, soap. The manager comes, boiling with anger. "Finish your work and do not come tomorrow. You are asleep."

Your two spiral springs are slow. The slap falls, pinches you, you spit in the basin, in the whisky dregs, in the shreds of roasted meat. The slap embraces you. You unite with it. You kill the wailings, go out into the street, walk

quickly, rush into the unknown. You like it, love it. You jump into the first car to the camp and to your hut. You embrace your father, tell him about the

slap. He understands, kisses you and you go out. You and the slap and the unknown. (Translation: Al Fajr al-Abadi. No 31.)

Ramallah Prison

by Issa Qaqeh

Issa Qaqeh remains in Ramallah prison awaiting trial on charges of membership and stoning an Israeli bus. Qaqeh's Aida camp house was demolished last year by the Israeli military. Along with poems of Mohammad Shraim and Mousa Haddad, a collection of his poetry was published last year under the title *Hymns to the Lilies of Palestine*.



Listen . . . Listen, Ramallah Prison

I am speaking through the dead mouths
and the language of the fetters
I am looking for the rhymes of the dead
in the eyes of the good poem
I am looking for an unperishable poem . . .

Listen . . . Listen

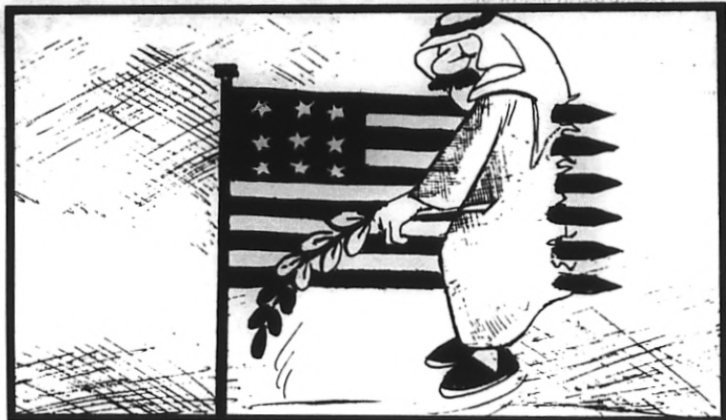
The palm trees and roses grow on my flesh
to a moon ascending from the ears of corn
bleeding, corn ears and bread
Because I have glided from the backs of mothers
to a hand pressing over the wound
the other pressing on the trigger
O, my mother loved my father burned in ashes
say to the groups of birds in my country
to the eyes of children hovering over my body like the stars
that the earthquake which has started in Beirut
exploded in Jerusalem

its alleys and houses

Listen . . . Listen

I have been deprived of my luggage
my pen and scribbles
I will never be sad
because I dipped my fingers in my heart
because I gave my tongue to each chain link of my fetters
listen, listen . . . Ramallah prison

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The criminal killing of Dr. Issam Sartawi, while he attended the Socialist International Conference in Portugal, and the latest statements from the Jordanian government were the two main topics in the Palestinian press this week.

Al Fajr daily provided continuous coverage of the Palestinian diplomats' martyrdom, giving the story its top spot all week. Listings of condolences praising Sartawi filled its pages as well.

Al Quds daily changed its normal banner and used red ink to report the Jordanian government's statement on the breaking off of Jordanian-Palestinian talks.

No Hope To Beautify Reagan Plan

With the decision of the PNC to consider the Fez resolutions as the minimum for any political action, the Palestinians reached the end of the course. Going beyond this limit leads to giving up their right to self-determination.

The issue here is not the manner of dealing with the proposed plans for a solution, but the extent to which they recognise the minimum required for a people to remain a people! In other words, the extent to which they correspond to the central point, which is recognition or lack of recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent state.

Supporters of the Reagan plan are now raising the slogan of "take and demand" and are trading out of context examples and are trying to apply them to our situation. If we ignore the fact that there is no "take" in the Reagan plan, this slogan was really applied in some countries by some factions of the national liberation movement. But in no country which this slogan applied did the other side refuse outright to recognise the right of the people of that country to self-determination. The imperialists used illusionary pretexts to make their domination last, but they did not deny the possibility of independence in the final analysis.

What we face here basically differs in that the starting point of the Reagan plan, as of the Israeli plan, deprives the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination and in that it asks them to "negotiate" from this point.

The idea of "persuading" Reagan to change this point in favour of recognition of the

right of self-determination is only self-deception. The characteristic of the relations between the Arab regimes who hold this conviction of "persuasion," is only allegiance. The result, as was the former case with Sadat, is "persuasion" of the American point of view.

There is no way other than to confront the Arab people with the truth of the direction of the reactionary Arab regimes and to direct ourselves to the Arab forces hostile to imperialism and to international revolutionary forces to strengthen the alliance with them.

Whatever the reactionary Arab 'beauticians' do with the Reagan plan, its face will remain ugly and its contents uglier still. It is a way which deprives our people of adherence to their right to self-determination.

AL TALIA
April 7

Sartawi's Absence

Issam Sartawi fell on the ground spattered with his blood, like all fighters in all battles which humanity has plunged into since the dawn of creation.

Sartawi fell for the sake of the principles he believed in and for the path he chose for himself: that of searching for a just peace for the Palestinian people, represented in the establishment of an independent state on national soil.

No one will benefit from the loss of Sartawi except those extremists who always doubted the honesty of Palestinian intentions for the sake of a just peace.

Sartawi's absence will not lead to the halting of the march in which he was one of the soldiers... the march of the people who believe in their rights and

who assert their determination to continue working with all available means, to achieve them.

What is Required

In a declaration issued last night by the Cabinet following the meeting headed by King Hussein and the Jordanian heir, Prince Hassan, Jordan announced it was "wiping its hands" of the political option for solving the Palestinian issue.

After asserting the importance of the Reagan initiative, the declaration put the responsibility for not grasping this opportunity indirectly on the Palestinian leadership... "leaving it and the Palestinian people to decide their own direction and the way to save themselves and their land and achieve their stated goals"... Jordan claims to have taken this stand respecting the decision of the PLO in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative and asserted that Jordan, which refused the delegation of authority (to negotiate on behalf of the PLO), will be neither singled out, nor be an alternative.

The question is: What are the measures which Jordan regards as guaranteeing the protection of national security and confronting the *de facto* annexation of the West Bank and Gaza?

Thinking about this question prompts the immediate belief that the Jordanian declaration is nothing other than the first step in a new Jordanian plan and programme.

The most prevalent thought is that our Palestinian people in the East Bank will be faced with pressure to make them demand that Jordan not resign or wash its hands, just as certain figures in the West Bank

and Gaza will meet an indication of acting in the same direction with whoever activates Jordan. Will this come about?

It remains for us to say that all the available indications are that there is nothing proposed before Jordan or the Palestinians which justifies bringing about any break or split between them, or inside either of them. This being the case, on what basis will Jordan draw up its future step?

We add that any action or attempt to falsify the will of the Palestinian people anywhere and by any party and under any circumstances will not succeed and will not achieve a just peace and stability which the region is so short of.

AL FAJR
April 11

Jordanian Declaration: The Beginning

There are a number of questions connected to and aroused by the Jordanian declaration issued the day before yesterday: Is there really an opportunity to achieve a just peace in the region? Is it true that the Reagan plan, the antithesis of the Fez plan can, by any stretch of the imagination, be a forerunner for the implementation of the Arab peace plan?

At the beginning of last September, US President Ronald Reagan put forward a plan which did not meet essential Palestinian rights. It ignored the PLO and denied the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. It rejected outright the idea of the establishment of a Palestinian state and refused to define the Israeli settlements as illegal. It was natural that the 16th session of the PNC should announce its

rejection to regard this plan as a basis for a just settlement.

On the other hand, there is the peace plan endorsed by the Fez summit which the PNC supported as a basis for Arab political action, especially since all the Arab states with the exception of Libya which did not attend the summit - agreed and supported it and a special committee even undertook the task of presenting it in the capitals of the superpowers.

During the period of Reagan's rule the US has not given one sign indicating its concern to achieve a just peace; in fact the contrary has happened.

The Arab regimes must blame themselves for their inability to apply the Fez summit plan, which would be possible if there was the will to give this plan a vital boost by taking a political decision based on confrontation with the United States.

A first simple glance at the policies of US and Israel gives the immediate result that the US and Israel are determined to deny national Arab rights; Arab treachery and impotence encourages this and justifies this determination and obstinacy.

The Palestinian people who endure the utmost suffering and hardship cannot concede their rights. These people, who realise the national implications of their cause, desire to build new relations with the Arab countries on the basis of these countries' respect for their independent decision and their support for what their national council decides.

At this stage, all the Arab countries are required to respect the Fez resolutions and to respect the resolutions of the PNC.

AL SHAAB
April 12

Attacks Escalate on Palestinian Institutions in Beirut

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome
Correspondent

ROME — A renewed escalation of terror attacks on Palestinian and Palestinian-related institutions has occurred in Beirut over the past 10 days. Among others, a Samed textile workshop was entirely devastated during the Easter weekend. On April 8, an embroidery workshop of Nahda, a Lebanese social assistance association providing work to Palestinian women, was likewise totally destroyed. In these and several other recent cases the time bombs used did not cause casualties. But, beyond the major material damage caused, they were intended as powerful warnings. The message is: any attempt to provide employment and means of livelihood to Palestinians in Beirut, thereby making it possible for them to stay in Lebanon, is destined to end in ruin.

The message is "official," and that the terroristic attacks bear the mark of the cover given by the Gemayel "state" and its security services to Phalangist crimes, is proven by more than one element. In fact, through the past week Lebanese army and police have also resumed the destruction of homes in the Palestinian camps in Beirut, using the excuse that they had been "abusively repaired" since the arrival of the multinational force troops. Moreover, the Lebanese army has removed all its guardposts in front of "Haifa," "Gaza" and "Acre" hospitals in Burj al-Barajneh, Sabra and Shatila camps, in a move that created mass alarm among Palestinian and Lebanese patients. Most interrupted their medical treatment and left the hospitals.

"The Gemayel plan is the Lebanese equivalent of the Samoz family," Raymond Edde, the Christian Lebanese leader exiled to Paris in 1976, wrote in *Al Mustaqbal* a few weeks ago. In a press conference, Elie Salem, the Lebanese foreign minister, who is a US citizen, confirmed this definition of the Beirut regime by saying that the "Lebanese will from now on have to sacrifice aspirations for freedom and democracy in the interests of a strong regime in a centralised state." Last Thursday, April 7, the Gemayel administration — from which by now almost all officials in key positions with any record of sympathy for Arab nationalism in general, and for the Palestinian cause in particular, have been purged and their places taken by Phalangist activists — gave a clear illustration of what Salem meant. On the morning of that day, for the first time since Lebanon's independence in 1943, a man, Ibrahim Tarraf, a 36-year-old Lebanese Shi'ite was executed by hanging

in the public gardens of Sanaya neighbourhood in West Beirut. Ibrahim Tarraf had been condemned to death for having murdered, three years ago, the owners of his rented apartment who wanted to evict him. ("It happened in a moment of rage — I lost my mind," he told the judge during the trial.)

Ibrahim Tarraf was, legally speaking, a man who committed a crime. From a formal point of view everything was regular. He was brought to trial, had a legal defence, was judged and sentenced. No such chance was given to the hundreds of Palestinians who have been kidnapped since late September from the refugee camps in south Beirut. Nothing has been known of them, except that members of their families were asked to pay ransom without getting in exchange the liberation of their relatives. Now, an ecclesiastic dignitary, who came to Rome during the Easter week, confirmed to the Centre for Information for the Defence of the Palestinian Prisoners and Missing rumours long-circulating in Beirut. The hundreds of Palestinians, over 800, among them very young boys and old men — innocent and defenceless persons who have not committed any offence — have been secretly and cold-bloodedly assassinated by their Phalangist abductors. "There is no longer anything to negotiate about," Maronite Cardinal Patriarch Pierre Khresh told bishops representing other Lebanese Christian churches who pleaded the case of the Palestinian *desaparecidos* and offered to negotiate their release on behalf of the families.

One can still recall the words of Pierre Gemayel in December and again in January. Pierre Gemayel the "Supreme Commander" of the Phalangist forces, president of the party in power, father of the Lebanese republic and father-in-law of Fady Frem, the Phalangist military commander and staunch ally of Israel, directly responsible for the kidnapping and murder of the Palestinians, denied to a committee of the families of the prisoners and missing that there were Palestinian prisoners in Phalangist hands "except maybe two or three." The same Lebanese Maronite oligarch who cold-bloodedly and secretly assassinated these hundreds of defenceless persons, whose only "guilt" was their being Palestinian, is the same one who last Thursday ordered the public execution of a Lebanese Shi'ite for the purpose of making a public show of the "law and order" which has come to Lebanon in the wake of the Israeli army, the Israeli tanks and bombings and occupation.



Jamal Adwan



Kamal Nasser



Mohammad Yusef al-Najjar

APRIL 9 MARKS 35th ANNIVERSARY OF MASSACRE AT DEIR YASSIN

April: Martyrs' Month

"It seems as if our enemies have chosen the month of April to commit against us," Ali Khalili, prominent writer and poet, commented on contemplating the list of massacres and assassinations perpetrated against Palestinians which are commemorated this month.

On April 8, the martyrdom of Abd al-Qader Hussein is marked. On that day in 1948, Hussein, one of the most noted of the Palestinian commanders, was killed on the fourth day of the battle of al-Qastel, west of Jerusalem.

The following day the mas-

sacre at Deir Yassin occurred. In the small Jerusalem-area village 254 men, women and children were killed in what is now the most notorious massacre ever committed against Palestinians. The hacking to death of the victims terrified much of the population of 1948 Palestine and prompted thousands to flee before Zionist advances. The Irgun and Etzel military groups which carried out the massacre were commanded by now-Israeli Premier Menachem Begin.

On April 10, 1973, Israeli paratroopers and naval commandos assassinated three prominent Palestinian leaders in their

Beirut residences: Mohammad Yusuf Najjar (Abu Yusuf) was one of the founders of and second in command of Fatah; Kamal Nasser was official spokesman of the PLO and a noted poet; Kamal Adwan was a member of the Fatah executive committee.

On April 13, 1975, 37 Palestinian fighters were trapped in a bus and massacred by Phalangist militias in Ain Rumaneh, a Beirut neighbourhood. The incident brought the Palestinian resistance movement into the conflict which had already started between right and left in Lebanon and which later came to be known as the civil war.

Volunteers Clean Up Um Al-Fahm

The fifth annual voluntary work camp in Um al-Fahm took place April 2-4. Participants from all over the country as well as Norway and England laid new roads, extended sewage pipes, and painted school buildings.

The work camp, which was organised by a special committee of the local council, put into action more than 1500 men and women.

The camp began officially on Friday evening, April 1, with a special welcome at a local cinema. The assembly was saluted by vice-chairman of the local

council, Lutfi Asa'ad Aghbari, who called on Um al-Fahm residents to give full support to the camp.

Mohamam Barghouti, head of the Higher Committee of Voluntary Work in the West Bank and Gaza, saluted forces in Israel.

Some groups painted school doors and windows, opened roads, or cleaned old ones, while others worked on installing rain drainage pipes. Is-

raeli Communist Party Arabic biweekly *Al Ittihad* described Um al-Fahm that day as "a beehive of activity." The paper also estimated that the three-day camp saved the village council millions of shekels in development expenditures.

Um al-Fahm, a village of 20,000 inhabitants, is the most populated Palestinian village inside the 1948 borders of Israel. The village, which has lost more than 90 percent of its land in successive confiscation measures by the Israeli authorities since 1948, is currently fighting to keep its remaining 10 percent.

UNIFIL Denies Southern Lebanese Harassment

UNIFIL spokesman Timor Goksel denied Israeli press reports that his forces have incurred physical harassment from Lebanese in the south in revenge for the killing of a doctor. Goksel maintained that the biggest problem UNIFIL faces today is the attempt to create armed "Village Leagues" and to evolve them into a "United South Assembly."

In a telephone interview with *Al Fajr* April 9 Goksel said that he was not aware of any assault against the UN interim force in South Lebanon, other than the April 1 incident when seven Norwegian soldiers were disarmed and their weapons stolen by some Marjayoun residents. He insisted, however, that the

killing of the South Lebanese doctor was the work of an individual. "Some people, it seems, are trying to psychologically exploit the incident," Goksel went on.

According to sources in South Lebanon, the "Guard" do not enjoy any support in South Lebanon, but continue to try to provoke UNIFIL troops, and incite the local population against them. Goksel said that the Israeli-established group is no longer visible but it is not known if it has gone underground or has been disbanded.

Meanwhile, the Israeli army continues to restrict the movement of UNIFIL personnel out-

side the area of its jurisdiction.

As for attempts to create local village committees to run the affairs of the local population, Goksel pointed out that the attempts have so far been unsuccessful. Out of more than 35 villages under UNIFIL control only two, Yatar and Bra'shit, have Israeli-appointed village committees.

During the past two months, Israeli forces and those of Saad Haddad have been organising meetings with South Lebanese village notables — mukhtars and wealthy landowners — urging them to form such committees, in order to create a political foundation for consolidating their control.

April 6, 1983

RAMALLAH CURFEW UP

RAMALLAH Curfew was lifted from Jalazon refugee camp after two days, following the throwing of a fire-bomb at a military vehicle. The curfew last month lasted 24 days.

SPY IN THE CLEAR

WASHINGTON, UP The National Association of Arab Americans announced that it will file a legal petition to demand to know the reason for the refusal of the US Justice Department to investigate an official of the US Defence Department for leaking military secrets to Israel.

VIGILANTES ACTIVE

Israelis wearing civilian clothes arrested a number of Bir Zeit University students claiming they threw stones at their cars. They took the students to military government headquarters. Students who live at the Rabah Hotel in Ramallah said that the Israeli civilians raided the hotel and beat a number of them.

CURFEW LUNCH BREAK

The Israeli authorities lifted the curfew on Tulkarm for one hour from noon to 1:00 pm to allow residents to go shopping. Curfews continue on Askar, Balata, Ain Beit al-Ma' and Tulkarm refugee camps.

PRISONERS INTERVIEWED

Haaretz Hebrew newspaper published an ITV British television interview with Israeli prisoners being held by the PLO in Lebanon, before they were taken to an unknown Arab country. One of them identified himself as Eli Abu al-Taboul. The PLO refused to identify the other. The two praised the treatment they receive and said they spend their time with the other prisoners playing chess and cards and listening to all radio stations, even Israel Radio. They are allowed to listen freely to the radio. One of them said that the prisoners have established friendly relations with their guards.

FINED FOR STONES

NABLUS The military court here sentenced Mohammad Saleh Ashour to three years suspended imprisonment and fined him IS90,000 after finding him guilty of throwing stones.

SOLDIER DIES IN HAIFA

An Israeli soldier was killed in Haifa after being shot in the stomach. He was found covered in blood with his weapon nearby. He was taken to hospital where he died. Police are investigating the incident.

POLLUTED BREAD

BEIT JALA Residents of Na'im Khader found a medicine capsule in a loaf of bread produced by

the Israeli Anger bakery. The loaf has been passed on to the Bethlehem health administration for investigation.

SETTLEMENT CONVERSION

TEL AVIV - Intensive work is taking place to turn the Israeli military settlement of Braha on Mount Jerzim near Nablus into a civilian settlement.

BOMB IN BETHLEHEM

BETHLEHEM - A time bomb was found at 1:30 pm near the police station in Bethlehem. Bomb disposal experts dismantled it. Manger Square was closed off for an hour.

VANDALS NOT FOUND

Israeli police combed the area adjacent to Elazir settlement in the Gush Etzion bloc on the Bethlehem-Hebron road for tracks of those who uprooted walnut trees there a few days ago.

An Israeli source said this was the fourth operation of its kind this year in the Gush Etzion area and described the incident as "terrorist."

MYSTERY DEATH

AL-JIB, RAMALLAH - The body of resident Jawad Sabih, 50, from al-Jib village was found at the side of the main Latroun-al-Jib road. His body was taken to Abu Kbir Hospital for autopsy.

BUS STONED

Two Israelis were injured when a number 25 bus was stoned on the way from Shu'fat to Nevi Ya'acov settlement, north of Jerusalem. One of them was taken to Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus. The other was treated and discharged.

Ten people were arrested and the Shu'fat area was closed off.

RELIGIOUS SUPPORT

NEW YORK An American church delegation left New York for the West Bank to express solidarity with the Palestinian residents following the latest events in the occupied territories.

NEW TAX

TEL AVIV The Israeli government announced a new tax on all foreign currency dealings in Israel.

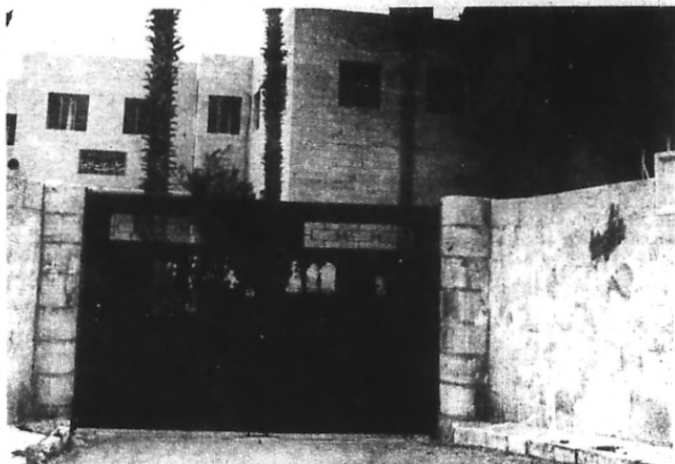
KIDNAPPING, ROBBERY

QUTNA - Three people kidnapped Mahmoud Jamil, 40, from Qutna, at a bus stop in the Sh'alba area on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road, west of Abu Ghosh. They took him in a Peugeot car to the Givat Shaul-Deir Yassin area, stripped him, beat him up and stole his money and ID card.

SETTLER STONE- THROWING

Israel Radio reported that

WEEKLY REVIEW



Ramallah Girls High School. The Israeli military authorities have ordered all schools to remain closed until April 19. The order was issued April 12, the day before students were due back in class./SF

Kiryat Arba settlers at the Hal-houl crossroads, threw stones at residents, breaking car and house windows. The police were informed but no one was charged. No curfew was declared on Kiryat Arba.

GAS HIKE

The price of fuel went up by 5 percent. One litre of 94 octane benzene costs IS26.40. One litre of 91 octane benzene costs IS24.10. Electricity, water and transport prices are also expected to increase.

ARAFAT TO MEET GULF LEADERS

RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA - Dr. Nabil Shaath, political advisor to Yasir Arafat, head of the PLO executive committee, said in a statement published by a Saudi newspaper that Arafat will hold contacts with the leaders of the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council to inform them of the latest developments in Palestinian-Jordanian talks before the convention of the Arab summit which is expected to be held in Morocco this month.

He said that the talks between Arafat and King Hussein had resulted in a joint agreement on the nature of joint Palestinian-Jordanian action in the coming phase.

April 7, 1983

NO SCHOOL YET

Dr. Adnan Salah, director of education in the Hebron district, said that the education officer decided to postpone resuming studies until April 13, 1983.

This is the second time studies have been postponed in government schools in the West Bank in two weeks. Studies were supposed to have resumed this Saturday morning.

ROADBLOCK ATTACK

TEL AVIV, AFP - Israeli sources

said that an Israeli army road-block came under light-arms fire on the outskirts of Deir al-Qamar in the Shouf area in Lebanon. An Israeli soldier was injured during the incident.

ANOTHER DEATH IN LEBANON

SIDON - The body of Palestinian Ahmed Hassan Gharbali was found near the car registration centre in Sidon in South Lebanon. The area is occupied by the forces of separatist Saad Haddad.

Since last January, unidentified armed elements have been carrying out a campaign to force Palestinian refugees living in the suburbs of Sidon to move to the refugee camps in the area.

HOSPITAL EMERGENCY

JERUSALEM - The sub-committee of the Ramallah Doctors Union has decided to set up an emergency health committee to provide ambulances in emergency cases. The sub-committee demanded that emergency cases be taken to Ramallah Hospital only. They are also asking residents who want to donate blood to go to the blood bank at the hospital.

LEBANON CURFEW

Israeli forces imposed a curfew on the village of Bhamdoun without indicating reasons for doing so. The Phalangist radio said that Israeli military roadblocks were erected between Bhamdoun and al-Hadath. It added that around 20 tanks took up positions in the area between al-Hadath and the suburbs of east Beirut.

ANTI-STONE POLICY

Maariv newspaper reported that Professor Moshe Arens, Israeli defence minister, has recommended to the 'civil administration' the setting up of a new programme to prevent stone-throwing and demonstrations in the West Bank.

The paper said that one aspect of this new programme is the direct punishment of offenders, without imposing collective punishment. Military courts have already started imposing large fines on youths accused of throwing stones, at Israeli vehicles.

Arens said that there was an average of 11-13 stone-throwing incidents aimed at Israeli vehicles per day.

CURFEW UP

QALQILYA Curfew was lifted from Qalqilya last night after the mayor and local personalities intervened with the authorities.

SYRIA NEXT?

MOSCOW, UP - The Soviet newspaper *Pravda* referred to a speech of MK Meir Wilner of the Communist Party in which he said that Israel was preparing to attack Syria.

ONE MONTH FOR THEFT

The Central Court in Tel Aviv sentenced a border guard policeman to one month imprisonment on a charge of stealing IS1600 from an Arab. The policeman was working at one of the entrances to Lydda airport and stole the money while searching the person who brought a complaint against him.

PRISONER FUNERAL

RAMALLAH - A huge funeral took place for Khalil Ibrahim Abu Khadijeh who died in Ramallah prison under mysterious circumstances after 14 years detention. The deceased had been sentenced to 20 years in prison on security charges.

April 8, 1983

SOLD IN USA

TEL AVIV - An Israeli source said that Israel has begun to sell West Bank land to Jews in the United States.

A meeting was held in New York on March 13 with the participation of Israeli government representatives who asked participants to buy West Bank land at a cost of between US \$2500 and \$3500 per dunum.

PRESERVED FOR ISRAEL

Haaretz reported that the head of the 'civil administration' in the West Bank recently signed an order declaring about 250,000 dunums of West Bank land the property of the Israeli Nature Preservation Society. Settlements are permitted on part of it.

ELASTIC CHARGE

Israel Radio said that the military authorities in Jenin arrested six members of the Islamic University Student Council in Gaza while they were visiting patients in Jenin Hospital. They are to be charged with incitement.

HAZBOUN REPLACED

BETHLEHEM — George Khalil Harb was appointed a member of the Bethlehem municipality to occupy the seat vacated by George Hazboun.

CAN'T TRAVEL

NABLUS — The Jordanian ministry of education and culture has asked all directors of educational offices in the West Bank to come to Amman April 8 to discuss the educational situation in the West Bank. However, it has been learned that the Israeli education officer has not allowed any of these directors to travel to Amman.

BRIDGE TAX

JERUSALEM — A large number of residents who are forced to travel to Jordan for a day or two on business said that the customs authorities on the Allenby Bridge are imposing taxes on them although they carry nothing but personal belongings. One resident said that the customs officials had imposed JD10 tax on a wooden shirt which his child was wearing.

BUS STONED

Youths threw stones at an Egged bus near Shu'fat. The police arrested three.

April 9, 1983

MEMBERSHIP SENTENCES

JERUSALEM — The military court in Lydda sentenced four youths from Issawiyeh to one year imprisonment with two years suspended after convicting them of belonging to a Palestinian organisation.

In Nablus the military court sentenced jeweler Ahmed Shahadeh Abu Shahadeh to three years imprisonment for membership.

BOMB IN KIBBUTZ

The Israeli police exploded a device found in a rubber tyre

in Kibbutz Ma'alla Tasfia in the Upper Galilee. The detonation damaged the water network. The police have detained two youths from Sakhnin for questioning.

BEK MINARET FIX

JAFFA — Volunteers began clearing the minaret of the Hassan Bek mosque which collapsed a week ago. The head of the waqf (Islamic foundation) Board of Trustees, Abed Kaboub, said that hundreds of Jaffa residents had volunteered and had started to clear the rubble and gather up the stones of the minaret in preparation for rebuilding.

KISSINGER REVEALS GENIUS

CAIRO — Former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said in Cairo on his way to Saudi Arabia, that the situation in the Middle East may become more complex if there is no development in the peace effort during this month.

BOMB ON NO. 25

The Israeli military authorities found an explosive device in an Egged bus No. 25 which runs from Neve Ya'acov to West Jerusalem.

April 10, 1983

MORE ISRAELI CASUALTIES

Correspondents in the Sidon region say that an Israeli military vehicle came under small rocket and arms fire on the Sidon-Tyre road, resulting in the death and wounding of dozens of Israeli soldiers.

Minister Moshe Arens said that there is no scope for beginning contacts with the dismissed mayors in the West Bank.

He mentioned a proposal in this regard brought up during consultations last week with former West Bank coordinators working for the defence ministry.

20,000 ISRAELIS IN LEBANON

BEIRUT — The Lebanese news agency said that the number of Israeli soldiers at present in Lebanon is around 20,000. The agency, which relied on Lebanese police sources, said that the Israeli army has recently withdrawn about 5000 soldiers from Lebanon.

RAFAH DEMO

Israel Radio said that dozens of Rafah residents held a demonstration and threw stones at Israeli border guards and soldiers. The Israeli authorities arrested a number of youths and the radio said that the detainees were expected to be brought to court in two days.

EXIT FROM YA'ABAD

JENIN — The authorities raised the travel restrictions imposed on the residents of Ya'abad for the last month and are allowing residents to travel to the East Bank.

MYSTERIOUS PHONE BILLS

JENIN — The Post Office administration has sent bills to telephone owners for the second

settlement of Mitzpe Yericho. The press added that the find will help greatly in agricultural development in Israeli settlements in the area.



BIR ZEIT — Amin Jamil Shahadeh, mayor of Bir Zeit, died. He was 58. The late mayor had occupied his post for the last 10 years and was deeply concerned for the town's development and growth. He had opposed the imposition of the Israeli civil administration one year ago.

TREES DESTROYED

JERUSALEM — Yousef Hussein Hababa, 60, a resident of Beit Iksa village, said unknown persons have been emptying sacks of dirt and stones at night onto his land, which is planted with fruit trees. He said approximately 250 fruit trees have been destroyed.

SQUARE SCARE

RAMALLAH — The Israeli authorities closed Manara Square in the centre of Ramallah when a suspicious Israeli car with a yellow license was parked on the white line opposite Salam Taxis. Israeli explosive experts tried a number of times to open the

BANNED WORK

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli authorities announced the closure of the office of the *Al Shaab* newspaper, correspondent in Bethlehem, Abd al-Jawad, for 90 days, after summoning him to the military government headquarters in Bethlehem.

The Israeli authorities had two weeks previously raided his office and home, and confiscated a number of issues of *Al Shaab* and some local magazines published in Jerusalem.

Jawad is to be taken to court on a charge of possessing copies of *Al Shaab* newspaper.

DIVERTING DIVERSIONS

The Israeli authorities are widening the canals connecting the Yarmouk River with the Sea of Galilee to increase water flow. In response, the Jordanians are digging irrigation canals to direct water from the Yarmouk to their land.

April 12, 1983

MOLOTOV IN AIDA

A Molotov cocktail was thrown at an Israeli border guard patrol near Aida refugee camp north of Bethlehem. The radio said that nobody was injured.

FACTORY ARSONED

An Israeli brick factory in Kufr Qara village in the Triangle was arsoned on Land Day, it was revealed today.

Israeli newspapers said factory owners did not report the incident at the time. They dismissed the idea that the fire occurred because of political action. They said that although the fire was deliberate, it was carried out by 'robbers or criminals.'

DHAHRIYEH CLOSURES

Israeli authorities sealed the houses of five Dhahriyeh residents accused two months ago of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles which lead to the death of a young Israeli woman.

Israel Radio said the families had tried to take out an order nisi at the High Court against the closure of their homes, but the court refused their request.

ADDING TO US DEBT

The Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics announced that the Israeli trade deficit this year will reach US \$3 billion. There has been a 10 percent drop in exports and a 1.5 percent increase in imports during the first three months of the current year, the CBS said. There has been a 13 percent drop in the size of Israeli car exports and a rise of 32 percent in imports of new cars.

GUARDING BZU

BIR ZEIT — Security committees made up of groups of students have been formed recently at BZU. The task of these committees is to guard the entrances to the old and new campuses.

NEW TAXI FARES

The West Bank traffic controller, April 10, set fares for taxis working between the crossing points on the Allenby and Damia bridges and other towns in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They are as follows:

From Allenby Bridge to Jerusalem	IS70
From Allenby Bridge to Hebron	IS106
From Allenby Bridge to Bethlehem and Ramallah	IS84
From Allenby Bridge to Gaza	IS168
From Damia Bridge to Nablus	IS70; to Qalqilya and Jenin IS106; and to Tulkarm IS84.

CULTURE CLASH

HEBRON — The military authorities in Hebron issued an order to close the Arab Press bookstore for a month following a raid by the army and the confiscation of a collection of political and cultural books. The order said that the store stocked forbidden material.

The owner of the bookstore was summoned to the military government headquarters for questioning.

FREE LAND FOR SETTLERS

TEL AVIV — Meir Shamir, director of land administration in Israel, said at an engineers' meeting in Tel Aviv that the land administration will distribute 4200 units of land free to settlers in 42 places in the Galilee.

NO CONTACT WITH MAYORS

TEL AVIV — Israeli Defence

time in one week, demanding enormous sums which must be paid by April 15. These bills include a new category of charge under the heading 'miscellaneous items.' The bulk of the huge sums is filed under this heading.

April 11, 1983

MORE LAND TAKEN

RAMALLAH — The authorities informed the owners of 1000 dunums of land in the villages of Jibya, Um Safa and Nabi Saleh, in the Ramallah district, of the confiscation of their land. The landowners have decided to present a case at the Israeli High Court.

SETTLED ON WATER

The Hebrew press reported that water explorations near Jericho undertaken by an Israeli company discovered sweet water at a depth of 300 metres in the

doors of the car without success. Meanwhile, two Israelis who said they owned the car, appeared. The siege of Manara Square was then lifted.

SHORTCHANGED

AL-BIREH — Cleaning workers at the al-Bireh municipality declared a strike after being deprived of an extra month's wages by the committee appointed to run the municipality in place of the dismissed council. The workers are also demanding an increase in their monthly wages in view of difficult financial circumstances.

MINE EXPLODES

TEL AVIV — Israeli sources said that a tractor hit an old land mine in an agricultural area near the Jordan River lying between Yardania and Neve Ur settlements. The Israeli sources added that the land mine exploded, resulting in the tractor driver being injured. He was taken to Afula Hospital.

Ilan Halevy: First Palestinian Jew to Represent PLO

"I am a Palestinian Jew," Ilan Halevy told newsmen after he was appointed to represent the PLO at the Socialist International Conference in Portugal following the assassination of Dr Issam Sartawi, April 10.

Halevy, 40, holder of both Israeli and French citizenship, is the first Israeli ever to be appointed to a representative post in the Palestine Liberation Organisation. He disclosed April 12 that he has been representing the PLO in the UN Human Rights Committee in Geneva. According to an Associated Press dispatch from Paris, he has been a member of the PLO for the past six years.

PLO spokesman Ahmad Abd al-Rahman, in Tunisia, noted that the urgency to appoint someone to the Socialist International to replace Sartawi led to Halevy's historic appointment. The PLO spokesman, however, did not deny that the Paris-born Jew is a major candidate to carry on Sartawi's job. His role as advisor to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat consisted mainly of coordinating links between the PLO and the Socialist International and between the PLO and Israelis. The Socialist International is a standing conference of Social Democratic parties.

Halevy, a journalist and a staunch anti-Zionist, has been active in Israeli opposition circles since the late '60s when he arrived and joined the left-wing Mapam kibbutz, Gan Shmuel. He was expelled from the kibbutz in 1968 and together with Udi Adiv, today Israel's only Jewish political prisoner, joined the Israeli Socialist Organisation (Matzpen).

In 1970 Halevy and Adiv split from Matzpen and formed the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Ma'vak al-Nidal). With work among far left-wing circles limited, Halevy and his group gave support to the Sephardic protest movement, the Black Panthers. Halevy, whose father is Turkish and mother Yemeni, believed Oriental Jews were the key to ending mainstream Israeli policy.

With Udi Adiv sentenced to 17 years after going to Syria in an effort to meet PLO representatives, Halevy left Israel in 1975 for his birthplace, Paris. He has since worked on a number of projects, including editing the French-language edition of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *Nesher From Inside*, and as a staff member of the Palestinian Research Centre in the French capital.

Halevy and representatives of the Israel Socialist Organisation and the Revolutionary Communist League became the first Israeli political figures to



Ilan Halevy. "I am a Palestinian Jew."

meet officially with the PLO at a historic session in Paris with Issam Sartawi February 7, 1976. The two groups agreed on a joint statement of policy.

The statement drawn up at that meeting, published for the first time in *Al Fajr*, called upon Israel to withdraw from all territories occupied in 1967, to recognise the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish an independent state, the right to return and the abolition of all discriminatory laws, regulations, institutions and practices. The statement called the PLO the sole legitimate representative of Palestinians.

Initialing the joint memorandum were Ilan Halevy, Moshe Machover and Michel Warshawsky on the Israeli side and Issam Sartawi on behalf of the PLO and Fatah. (See Box)

Halevy told French TV that he does not feel that he is the right person to coordinate between the PLO and Israeli circles. But Michel Warshawsky, spokesperson for Matzpen, disagrees. "I would like to see Ilan's responsibility as representing Israeli society inside the PLO and as *avant-garde* to incorporating an Israeli dimension in the PLO." He applauded the PLO decision, telling *Al Fajr* it reflects the PLO's sincerity in regards to the Jewish population. "It shows all doubters that they do intend to live with Jews," he said.

Warshawsky predicted that in the long-term the PLO will not be an exclusive Palestinian organisation, but will represent anyone who wants a free Palestine. "Whether it is Israeli Jews or Palestinian Arabs, we have to fight together," the spokesman said.

by Daoud Kuttab

The following document, published here for the first time, is the result of the first meeting ever between Dr Issam Sartawi and representatives of three Israeli leftist parties. The document, dated February 7, 1976 is initialed by: Ilan Halevy (Ma'vak), Moshe Machover (Matzpen), Michel Warshawsky (Matzpen - Marxist); and Issam Sartawi (PLO - Fatah).

We, Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews, representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization and of three Israeli revolutionary anti-Zionist organizations - the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen), the Revolutionary Communist League (Matzpen-Marxist), and the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Ma'vak al-Nidal) - have met to discuss together the problems and the tasks facing us in our common struggle against Zionism.

We maintain that the root of the Israeli-Arab conflict is Zionism - which denies, in principle and in practice, the national and human rights of the Palestinian Arab people, which has occupied Palestinian and other Arab lands and has enforced the continued expulsion of half of that people from its homeland, while subjecting the other half to discrimination and national oppression.

The Palestinian Resistance, Arab revolutionaries and the anti-Zionist forces are now facing very grave dangers.

First, the threat of a new war of aggression against Arab countries, conducted by the Israeli war machine and backed by imperialism - with the aim of physically annihilating the Palestinian Resistance movement. Second, international machinations designed to impose a "settlers' regime" denying the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

At this critical moment, we deem it necessary to assert together, in the most public manner, our common and fundamental commitment to the following aims and objectives:

- 1) The immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the territories which it occupied in 1967.
- 2) The recognition of the right of the whole Palestinian Arab people to implement its national self-determination - including the right to establish a sovereign state of its own in Palestine. The Palestinian right to self-determination also includes the right of those Palestinians living within the pre-June 1967 frontiers of Israel to secede, together with the territories where they constitute a majority of the population.

We affirm that this is the rightful representative of the Palestinian people and we resolutely oppose any attempt on the part of non-Palestinian powers to dictate to the Palestinian people who shall or shall not represent them, and what shall, or shall not be the political future of the occupied territories from which Israel will be compelled to withdraw.

- 3) The recognition of the unrestricted right of all Palestinians to return to their homeland/enjoy full human and national rights.
- 4) The abolition of the Zionist regime of Israel - the abolition of all laws, regulations, institutions and practices enforcing the present regime of "Jewish supremacy", national oppression and ethnic discrimination.

We regard these immediate demands as a basis for the development of a joint struggle of the Palestinian and Israeli masses to create a unified and democratic society in which Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews will live together without national, racial and social oppression, in complete equality and freedom.

(Matzpen)

H.H.

P.L.O. - Fatah

S.A.S.